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IN ordinary times *The Nation* would be rejoicing over the adjournment of Congress until the short session of next winter. Today we find ourselves regretting the action taken on Saturday last. If there ever was a period when Congress should remain in session, or in recess, it is the present. The world is in a state of flux, the European situation changes day by day, the Mexican situation remains difficult, and the Allies hourly take a different attitude as to Russia. The United States has an invalid as President, whose health, unfortunately, does not seem to be improving. In spite of these circumstances, Congress has voted not to reassemble until December unless Mr. Wilson calls a special session, so that the Administration has the situation entirely in its own hands. It may initiate any policy it chooses in regard to our foreign affairs, and there will be no official debate or discussion. It could practically involve us in war, as it has on several occasions, and there would be no means of checking it. Now, if the President were fully functioning, if there were a harmonious and coordinated Cabinet, that would not be so bad. But everybody knows that there is no real Government at Washington, in the sense of able, cooperating, efficient administration. The Department of Justice and the Department of Labor are at swords' points; the State Department is about to lose the services of Mr. Polk; Secretary Daniels talks his conventional nonsense. Plainly, the next few months will be anxious ones in our international relations, and that anxiety is increased by the fact that Congress will not be functioning if an emergency arises.

EUROPE is fortunate that Nitti has returned to power in Italy. Alone among the present premiers, he has had the vision to see and the courage to speak what all the world must come to see. The problem of the restoration of Poland or of Belgium or Venetia or northern France is a European problem and can only be solved as such. Nitti has dared to say so. The problem of feeding Europe cannot be solved while trade with Russia is barred. Nitti has said that too. The Turkish treaty kills every hope of peace in the Near East. Nitti spoke out there again. The old-school diplomats who still control Allied policy outside of Italy hoped that the fall of his Cabinet would mean the return of Italy to their discredited policies; but none of the old politicians was able to command the support of the Italian Chamber and Nitti is back with new power. Here and there in Europe there are signs of returning sanity. The recent Czecho-Slovak elections reduced Kramar's reactionary party to 19 seats, while the Social Democrats won 110 of the 282 seats. There is nothing Bolshevist about the domestic program of the Czech Social Democrats, but their victory at the polls means that Czecho-Slovakia will open diplomatic negotiations with Soviet Russia and aid Nitti in his program of European reconciliation.

LITTLE peace is likely to come to Germany as a result of her elections. Early returns bear out the prediction that the elections would doom the present center coalition of the moderate Socialists, Democrats, and Catholics, without giving a clear majority either to the Right or to the Left. The radical Independent Socialists have largely inherited the right to the title of "majority" Socialists, but they have not a majority in the country, nor even allied with the Right Socialists and the handful of avowed Communists would they be able to constitute a parliamentary government. Nor does it seem probable that the Catholics, the Democrats, and the German People's Party will be able to form a conservative republican *bloc* in the new Reichstag, as many of them had hoped. The Socialists may face an alliance of all the bourgeois parties, but it would be a curious assortment of squirming bedfellows if the latter did come together. The Junker monarchists of Pomerania, the Rhenish captains of industry, the liberal intellectuals of the Democratic Party, and the varied elements of the Catholic Party will find it very hard to live together in parliamentary harmony. The new Reichstag seems condemned by its own dissensions to be, even more than the old, a "mere debating society"; the real work of the new Germany will have to be done outside. Both the Entente and Germany will have cause for regret if, as seems likely, the outcome is a shifting Government, forced constantly to maneuver for a parliamentary majority, and always facing a hostile working class.

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THE knowledge of a Representative in Congress that he is safe in saying what he pleases on the floor of the House always means that he is safe in telling the truth; but sometimes, also, it means that he is safe in grossly and maliciously exaggerating. Representative William Mason, of Illinois, said on May 27, while pushing a proposal to tax war profits 80 per cent for the soldiers' bonus: "I am willing to vote to have your Attorney-General bring suit against Barney Baruch, the chief man, the closest man to the President of the United States, who stole $50,000,000 in copper alone." There was no explanation, and the sentence now stands in the *Congressional Record*. To level so grave an accusation, and to do nothing more, is not the part of a conscientious statesman. Until Mr. Mason speaks again, he himself is open to serious charges. If he believes his statement to be true, he should urge prosecution. If, as is more likely, he spoke rashly and without sufficient knowledge, he has wronged Mr. Baruch. The latter, who rendered much service of value to the Government during the war, has taken the course of an honorable man in demanding that Mr. Mason lay his facts before the criminal authorities, or retract his accusations.

THE Democrats might do much worse than to nominate John W. Davis for the Presidency, and it is interesting to note that a strong sentiment for his selection has sprung up during the past week, so spontaneously as to be in itself a remarkable tribute to the man. While the general public has heard little about him, the legal profession knows him well as a man of attainments, and the Supreme Court is understood to have the highest opinion of his mental powers, with which it became familiar while he was Solicitor-General. He is a straightforward speaker, with unusual clarity of expression, and his record as a man and a citizen is open to inspection. The fact that Mr. Davis is not directly affiliated with the Wilson Administration, and therefore is not tainted by the general reputation for disappointment and disaster attaching to it, would help him so greatly as to more than offset the fact that his name is known to few of the newspaper readers of the country, despite his being our Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. It must be admitted, however, that his views on pending issues are practically unknown.

LINCOLN apparently was right; you can fool all of the people only part of the time. Thus ex-Senator Beveridge, as chairman, and the other members of a sub-committee of the Republican National Committee report that the present criminal code is entirely adequate to deal with all treasonable acts in time of peace and that there is no necessity for enacting any further legislation. The committee adds: " . . . in view of the constant extension of the category of deportable offenses, and of the vigorous malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, it is urged that intervention of the courts be made more possible and requisite." The report is only another instance of the turning of the tide, or of the worm, as the case may be. The indictments against the Department of Justice are piling up day by day, and include not only the grossest stupidity and lack of imagination in dealing with the present unrest, but actual "malpractice"—breach of the law that it was created to enforce and maintain. If ever a Department head deserved impeachment, Mr. Palmer is that head; and such an action may come in time.

"COMPARED to men occupying high positions in churches and communities who pray with their mouths and profiteer with the hands, the hold-up man is entitled to a high seat in the synagogue," said Senator Kenyon lately. That reminds us to ask what men are holding up the report on the steel strike, prepared with great expense and thoroughness months ago at the behest of the Interchurch World Movement? It exists and has been seen, because Senator Walsh of Massachusetts referred to it in highly laudatory terms on the floor of the Senate as recently as May 18. Why not pass it around for the edification of common folk? Surely enough time has elapsed. The investigation was authorized nine months ago. The report was unanimously accepted, if we are informed correctly, some time in March, by the commission of distinguished clergymen who were invited to conduct the investigation. Large bodies are prudent in moving slowly, but, if the churches are to contribute anything toward the saving of the world, they cannot afford to move so much slower than the world itself. It was only the other day that a man who would seem invincible—being both a former Yale football star and a minister of the Gospel—was jailed in Duquesne for daring to speak to a peaceable meeting of steel workers. Months have elapsed since the Mayor of that town challenged the church in these words: "Jesus Christ could not hold a meeting in Duquesne." The Interchurch World Movement surely understands that it is on trial before a growing body of opinion, and that its delay in such a matter will gravely prejudice its case.

IF it were merely a matter of the publication of the steel report, those of us who are concerned that the churches should not be biased by the millions they collect might be patient. But a large body of material which would throw light on other pressing social and economic problems is also involved. The Industrial Relations Department of the Interchurch Movement, intrusted with discovering the facts which Christians must have in order to determine their attitude in such matters, has made investigations in the West Virginia mining regions where open warfare has just broken out between private detectives and miners, in the Kansas coal fields where the Industrial Relations Court is being tried, of the deportation of aliens, and of other important trouble-spots. The public has heard nothing of the results. If the steel report is quietly laid aside, these reports also have little chance of seeing the light. In other words, the largest and most powerful organization of churches in the country will have admitted that though at enormous expense it has collected highly pertinent information about industrial matters, it cannot give it to the people. Why?

DR. ADDISON, as British Minister of Health, has put his finger on one of the difficulties of housing in America as well as in England. He says:

> I have no patience, nor the public either, I imagine, with the frame of mind of the man who goes to the City and who may have money to spare, and prefers to make eight or ten per cent in the City. It is part of the duty we owe to the returned soldiers that money should be forthcoming for the building of houses for them. It is nothing short of a disgrace that the richest city in the world will not find money at six per cent to build houses.

At present throughout the western world everything is aimed at industrial inflation. Out of 118,082 British car-

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penters and joiners, 9,787 are employed on workingmen's houses; 53,180 are engaged on cinemas, churches, castles, clubs, department stores, flying-sheds, saloons, and theaters. American figures would give much the same proportion of luxury building to necessary building. There will be no solution until the credit power of the community is put behind non-commercial house building. But this is not enough. The technical men, architects and other experts, must regain control of the operation of building. Manual labor must find a motive for production. Profit-making for the business group has failed to give this motive to the manual grades.

THE United States stands low in rank among the civilized nations in the care of babies and mothers. It is eighth in its infant death-rate and fifteenth in the rate of death of mothers from causes related to childbirth. We lose annually almost a quarter of a million babies under a year old, and half as many mothers die each year in bringing children into the world as the total number of American soldiers killed in battle in the Great War. A large proportion of all these deaths are preventable, and are caused by lack of care and education. What this peace-time, year-in and year-out casualty list means in sorrow and suffering almost everyone knows from personal experience; what it means in loss to the nation has only been officially recognized since the establishment of the Children's Bureau at Washington. The Sheppard-Towner bill for the protection of maternity and infancy, recently reported out by the Senate Committee on Public Health, of which Senator France is chairman, should be passed by Congress when it reassembles. This measure provides for Federal aid to the States in creating centers for prenatal and confinement care of mothers, in establishing infant clinics, in furthering instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy to be given by land-grant colleges and State universities, and in the development of a wide system of public health nursing for women and children, particularly in rural districts where doctors and hospitals are inaccessible. The designation of the chief of the Children's Bureau as executive officer of the Federal Board which would administer the act inspires confidence in its purposes and probable effects.

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People concluded last week the most remarkable convention it has held in its eleven years of existence. When it decided to meet in Atlanta, Georgia, there was considerable doubt expressed as to the wisdom of this move, particularly in view of the fact that its former secretary, John R. Shillady, was seriously assaulted when he visited Texas last year in the interests of the Association. But the Atlanta conference has passed off extremely well, and has won more publicity than any similar gathering. The Jim Crow car laws were suspended for the benefit of the delegates, several prominent Southerners addressed the meetings, and one constructive suggestion that commissions on race relations be established in every State has been received with consideration, and in many quarters with approval. Nothing more encouraging has happened for some time, unless it be the action of the Republican National Committee in adopting, on the eve of its convention in Chicago, a resolution forbidding the holding of party meetings in the South in places where it is "the custom and practice to deny access to colored people"—thus rebuking the "lily-white" movement.

SOME of the trade unionists in Ireland have refused to handle munitions and "assist military operations." This meant in one instance that, when they believed a consignment of goods from London to Dublin, directed to the Royal Irish Constabulary, contained arms, they "downed tools." This kind of strike is not the general strike of "direct action" for a political object, and it is not the orthodox strike for an economic gain. It is not the strike of a group for its own peculiar group rights. It is what might be called a moral strike. It is the action of a group in refusing to practice its trade, when by so doing it becomes the instrument of a Government policy morally distasteful to the conscience of the group. The great modern originators of this moral strike were English army officers in their stand on Ulster just before the war. Italian workers refused to load supplies for use against Soviet Russia. London compositors refused to continue setting lies in type directed against the British railwaymen on strike. Now comes this instance of the Irish workers. Some of them are affiliated with the National Union of Railwaymen, and as the result they may be able to compel the British trades union movement, for the first time in its history, to take a decisive stand on the question of a free Ireland and to force the withdrawal of troops.

THE year 1919 will be historic in the British labor movement because of the sweeping reductions in hours of work; they now run from 44 to 48 per week as compared with 48 to 60 not long ago. This reduction came about because the workers acted as if single-minded, and yet they had no conscious common understanding. While large groups of our American steel workers still toil twelve hours daily, the majority of the British workers in the same trade are on a 47-hour or 48-hour week. In a period of about a quarter of a century prior to 1918 an average of about 120,000 British workers obtained reduction in their working time each year. In 1902, when the maximum week in the textile factories was restricted to 55½ hours, more than a million persons had their laboring day shortened by nearly an hour. As a result of the Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1909 more than half a million workers obtained reductions averaging about four hours a week. During the first seven months of 1919 nearly six million workers had their normal weekly working hours, irrespective of overtime, reduced by an average of about 6½ hours per person, and in almost no case did the reduction in hours carry with it a reduction in wages. The most drastic cut was 10¾ hours a week from the laboring day of glass workers in Yorkshire, London, and Manchester; that is, from 47 to 36¾ hours a week.

STATE-MAKING goes on apace. The new buffer state of "Russian Far-East," formed in Siberia with the apparent agreement of the Soviet delegate from Moscow and the Japanese, has started business. It has been recognized by the Soviet Government, but will itself, according to a dispatch from Frazier Hunt, be a government of "temperate liberalism." Thus to secure peace and freedom from foreign invasion the Bolsheviki pursue still further their interesting policy of threat and conciliation. Japanese interests have now their coveted opportunity to use Eastern Siberia as a playground, but if Russia gains thereby its equally coveted opportunity to build up its economic life free from the task of repelling invasion on endless fronts, east and west, the price is perhaps not too great to pay.

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Strangling Business

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, formerly Secretary of Commerce, and present president of the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce, is fond of expanding upon the mutual good that Russia and the United States can do. The other day, speaking on this subject, Mr. Redfield rendered a veritable little poem upon Russia's need and America's opportunity. "If we have the vision to see," he said, "in Russia's need of development our own great opportunity for service and for reward, then we may so deal with her as to win her love, and in her growth may ourselves expand into a larger and more fruitful life." We need not go into Mr. Redfield's record to throw horrid doubts on the sincerity of those words; we need only mention the fact that he failed to suggest any method for the capture of Russia's affections —and incidentally of her petroleum, platinum, leather, bristles, and flax—but merely urged that the United States be ready "when the hour strikes." The hour, it seems to us, struck some time ago, and the United States still procrastinates while other suitors press their claims. Russia is probably no harder to please than most, but she fails apparently even to suspect that a nation which shoots at her and starves her and calls her names and then kicks her downstairs is in a subtle way trying to "win her love." England's method of dissembling her love has been equally remarkable, but it has been tempered by an instinct for her own advantage—an instinct which has finally overcome every other purpose.

Let us see just where the situation stands. Trade between England and Russia is now going on through the Baltic Sea ports. The British blockade is in fact lifted and goods other than munitions are moving freely in to Soviet Russia. It is no secret that Canadian goods are going the same way. Gregory Krassin and his staff are in London, discussing commercial relations with the British Government, and trading offices have been opened to handle the whole bulk of Russian commerce. In Copenhagen an international clearing-house has been established, and a commercial agreement, negotiated by Krassin, has been signed there by representatives of the Russian cooperatives and of "international industrial groups." Orders are already being filled by Danish firms, while contracts amounting to 100,000,000 Swedish kroner are said to have been negotiated between Sweden and the Soviet Government. Italian cooperators are in or on their way to Moscow with authority to open non-official trade relations with Russia. The Black Sea, to be sure, is still blockaded, but medical supplies from Italy are reported to have been shipped to Russia by that route. An exchange of goods between the Baltic states and Russia is in constant progress.

Where is the United States in this race for Russia's favors? The United States, we imagine, is just where Great Britain wants it to be. War materials left in France by the United States are serving to arm and equip the whole Polish army. Material worth $1,700,000,000 is said to have been sent to Poland, for which Poland has agreed to pay—with no visible or prospective security—$400,000,000 in six years. This is price cutting which shames the benevolence of John Wanamaker—75 per cent off on every gun! An American journalist recently remarked that at first sight of the Polish army he thought he had run into a division of the American army. How long are the American people going to allow their taxes and their loans to be used to provide, at twenty-five cents on the dollar, guns and uniforms and equipment for the Polish invaders of Russia? And while the American Government tolerates Poland's war, American business is allowing the business of the rest of the world—barring France—to secure Russia's trade—not to mention its "love." The State Department has just let it be known that the action of Great Britain and the other nations makes no difference to the United States, which will pursue alone, if necessary, its policy of complete non-intercourse with Russia. But how about American business men; will they acquiesce in this policy of perpetual segregation? Will they be taken in forever by old wives' tales of Russia's misbehavior? No benevolence need enter into their calculations; no consideration of Russia's hardships. They need only recognize that the most important thing in the world at the present time is to get the wheels of commerce moving again; to get bread and clothing and machinery to the people in every country; to save the world from general economic collapse. This is the larger aspect of the business man's problem. His more intimate concern is to prevent a disorganized Cabinet in Washington from throttling America's chance in a great market.

Doubtless some American business men are maintaining illicit relations with Russia through Canada or Esthonia or the Scandinavian countries; it is not condoning immorality in general to hope that they are. But the idea that American trade with Russia *must* be illicit; that smuggling must be resorted to because our Government is blind and stupid and obstinate ought to humiliate every American and make indignant every business man. The Soviet Bureau which was established in New York by the Russian Government for the purpose of opening trade relations between the two countries has given up in despair and is adopting a Wilsonian policy of watchful waiting. Its efforts have been met by persecution and have been baffled by official ignorance and stupidity. If America is to have a share in Russian trade, American business will have to secure it.

The Price of the Presidency

ONLY two men appear to have sustained definite personal injury as a result of the publicity given to their Presidential nomination funds: Wood and Lowden; the former because of the extraordinary size of his war chest, and the latter because of evidence that delegates to the national convention had received gifts for no stated and apparently no reasonable purpose. According to the testimony of the eastern treasurer of the Wood campaign, before a Senate investigating committee on June 4, the General's fund had then reached the extravagant total of $1,252,000, of which about half was from W. C. Procter, the Ohio soap manufacturer. Lowden's fund was set recently at $414,000, of which $379,000 was contributed by the Governor and his wife. This was bad enough, but it became ten times worse a few days later when the Senate committee was told by two delegates to the Chicago convention that they had received $2,500 apiece from the Lowden campaign fund, without instructions for its use or any personal knowledge of how to employ it legitimately. Both said that the money had not been spent, but admitted having put the funds to their credit in their banks. The Senate committee was told that the Johnson campaign fund amounted to $200,-

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000, and that of Harding to $113,000. Other funds were stated as follows: Coolidge, $68,000; Hoover, $62,000 (excepting the California campaign); Palmer, $59,000; Butler, $40,000; Cox, $22,000; Edwards, $12,000. In the case of Palmer the Senate committee was less interested in the comparatively small size of the fund than in the men connected with the campaign and their peculiar relation to the Attorney General or to the Administration. A leading worker, it was testified, was counsel to a man in controversy with the Government over an income tax claim for three million dollars. It was also charged that in Pennsylvania the Palmer forces had furthered their cause by granting immunity to violators of the Volstead liquor law, a statement subsequently denied by the Attorney-General.

Disquiet over these huge nomination funds is only partly due to their unpleasant suggestion of buying the Presidency; there is also a feeling of disappointment in that they seem to be the result of the direct primary system, which was hopefully devised to make politics more democratic. Probably the Presidential primary is only partly to blame for these huge funds. The publicity and propaganda mania received a great stimulus during the war, and no doubt part of these funds would have been raised even if the old-fashioned convention system was intact throughout the United States. Still, the Presidential primary, with the need of appealing to a large body of voters, is undoubtedly responsible for much of this high finance. Ten or twelve years ago, when the direct primary was generally hailed as a political panacea, there were not wanting persons who predicted that within a decade machinery would be installed behind it which would effectually invalidate its purpose. Present conditions tend to bear out such predictions, but there is no reason to believe that the direct primary will therefore be scrapped. It may have failed materially of its purpose, but there is no ground to suppose that reversion to the convention system would better conditions. The most practical suggestion, perhaps, for doing away with these huge Presidential nomination funds is that of Senator Borah (to whom the public owes a great debt for his insistence that inquiry into preconvention finances be made). He would limit expenditure in any one State to $10,000. This would be considerable if expended in all the States, but in practice, of course, such would not be the case. Probably not more than $100,000 to $200,000 in all would be spent for any one candidate.

One result of the Senate committee's inquiry will be a still further distrust on the part of the public of old-line politics and the two major parties. What democracy or what hope is there in parties or candidates who are the creators or the victims of such methods? A glance at the names of the large contributors to the nomination funds does not show them to consist of the intellectual or moral leaders of the country; they are prevailingly persons who used to be known as "captains of industry" and are now less heroically styled "big business men." Such men are not necessarily trying to buy favors for themselves or their business. Presumably neither Mr. Procter nor John D. Rockefeller, Jr., both of whom contributed to the Wood fund, expected the General, if elected, to render *quid pro quo* to them individually. But the public at large cannot but distrust a President or a party that is placed in power—even through honest conviction—by multi-millionaire soap and oil producers, and such methods ought to mean political suicide for all who resort to them.

State Aid for History

THE "Dictionary of National Biography," to judge by various reports from England, has lately been suffering from more than the war. That an enterprise so expensive—as well as great and important to all English-speaking peoples—should have shared the war-time fortunes of other enterprises of learning, was to have been expected, but not that it should have been partially smothered by a famous university. Given by the heirs of George Smith, founder and benefactor, to Oxford in 1917, it has not, it appears, been so competently handled as Oxford handled the "New English Dictionary" and Cambridge the "Encyclopedia Britannica." Special local jealousies and general lukewarmness have been charged against Oxford, but these charges seem too vague to repeat. What really matters is that the indispensable D. N. B. is under something of a cloud. We cannot believe that any such neglect will be endured for long, but the report nevertheless brings up interesting questions with regard to the whole matter of national monuments of this description.

Who is to rear them and how are they to be maintained? The "Dictionary," edited first by Leslie Stephen and then by Sidney Lee, owed its existence to a private fortune—derived, by the way, largely from the sale of Apollinaris Water—and was always conducted at a financial loss. That a George Smith was found to bear the loss cheerfully, or at all, was a mere chance. Without him it is conceivable that his generation—richer in money and scholars and scholarly equipment than any previous English generation has ever been—might have failed to compile a suitable record of the great men and women of the race such as the D. N. B. actually became. Private generosity has indeed been the prime dependence of English historical learning in its more elaborate works, and the total achievement is of course enormous, but it has also been irregular and unsystematic. The traditional ballads of England and Scotland, for instance, were best collected by a scholar in the United States, where also the best edition of Shakespeare is in progress; before the "New English Dictionary," too, the British Isles had very considerably to depend upon America for their best lexicography, as they must still look to Germany for much material bearing upon the history of the language. In other departments of historical scholarship many serious gaps could easily be shown to exist, in spite of all that wealthy patrons and passionate amateurs have accomplished.

The facts in the case furnish a sufficient answer to those who maintain that only individuals can be relied upon to endow a civilization with its great records. The wonder among Anglo-Saxons is not that men of wealth have done so much but that they have done so little. In the United States we have millionaires without number but no decent biographical dictionary, no good uniform and inexpensive editions of our classics, no thorough lexicon of Americanisms, no adequate historical collections. Individual initiative and donation have failed or have lagged, even more than in England. France, where such matters are, at least in part, functions of the state, has managed better; and in Russia the plans for similar undertakings have been drawn up by the present Government on a scale never equaled anywhere else. With the rise to power of new orders of the population and the curbing of large fortunes which may be

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expected in the generation to come, the role of the state in the encouragement of such learning must become larger if such learning is not to languish.

We do not look to see it languish, because we suspect that the belief in it is stronger among the people than among the lords and captains of life who have at different times and in differing ways sustained it. A fraction of the money wasted on the amusements and extravagances of the rich would have done for national scholarship far more than has ever been done for it. The problem is how to direct the popular hunger and belief to proper ends. England has discovered that education is immensely a matter for the state, and the United States is slowly discovering that some sort of Federal supervision must assist the work of the States in this direction.

How consistently then might the state, which erects huge monuments to national heroes in public places, also contribute funds to the writing of the biographies of its heroes! The sum expended in a single national park or highway would give us a host of historical works and editions of classics no less useful than the park or highway in revealing to us the resources of the nation—and the resources, too, in human deeds and wisdom, not in trees and mountains. But of course the main argument is not merely that the state could devote larger sums to these undertakings than private individuals can, but rather that matters of national concern, like heroic records and historical monuments, belong clearly among those activities which it is the duty of the nation to encourage and support, always provided that the freedom of thought and expression of the author is sacredly safeguarded.

Revolutions and Revolutions

FRANCE has been having her annual spring convulsion. In the spring of 1917 the textile strike and the great mutinies at the front, crushed by wholesale imprisonments; in the spring of 1918, the metal workers' strike, crushed by shipping eighty strike leaders to the front line trenches; in the spring of 1919, the metal workers', miners', and transport strikes, and the outbreak at Toulouse when the red flag flew over the prefecture; in 1920, the February railway strike, and the railway, mine, dock, seamen's, metal workers', and builders' strike of May. Each year the convulsion shakes deeper. All these movements have "failed," as the steel, and the mine, and the railway strikes in this country have "failed," leaving their trail of bitterness and slackened production behind them.

Whenever strikes in France reach one of their recurrent crises, we read of "revolutionary movements" and of "revolutionary agitators" and the papers are full of the question: is a revolution possible in France? The trouble with such discussion is that it is based upon an outgrown conception of what constitutes a revolution. Revolution used to be a fairly simple matter: the people poured into the streets and built barricades, the troops revolted, the old political crowd was imprisoned, a new cabinet inaugurated—and the revolution was done. It was a question of installing new men. This attained, the barricades were leveled, and the people returned to their play and their misery. If one has such a revolution in mind, it is easy to calculate that French peasants are conservative, that they will oppose and overthrow a labor government, and to announce that revolution in France is impossible. But the revolution which is stirring in Europe today is less political than economic. It is a harder kind of revolution for men consciously to effect, but its coming seems as inevitable as anything can be in changing Europe today. The doubtful question is as to its methods and its manners.

For while we have been meditating upon the possibility of revolution, the revolution has been coming to Europe—not eruptively, like the ephemeral soviet republics of the spring of 1919, but gradually and ineradicably. It is a truism to say that Europe cannot return to ante-bellum conditions, but the change is deeper than we know. The workers of the continent of Europe have assumed a degree of power which would seem to most of us out and out Bolshevism. The unanimous passage of a forty-four hour week law by the upper house of the Dutch Parliament indicated not a change of heart but a recognition of a condition. The readiness—nay, insistence—of the other parties that the moderate socialists take the leading positions in the Czecho-Slovak and German cabinets is evidence of realization that a new power is in the hands of class-conscious workingmen and that one must bow to it in form at least. The German factory councils law—which was bitterly attacked in Germany as too conservative—brings workingmen into the sessions of the business councils of their firms. The Italian Government, conscious of impending change, makes concession after concession, and probably only such far-reaching concessions have saved Italy from more serious troubles. There is a party of violence in every European country; repression plays into its hands and concession disarms it. The unyielding policy of the French Government has tragically added to France's difficulties; the Italian Government has helped Italy to survive trials equally severe. By virtue of the so-called Visocchi Decree, the Italian Government has, where strikes and riots brought matters to a head, expropriated idle factories and ill-cultivated large estates, and transferred them to the workers' hands. It has accepted change when change became inevitable, and eased the transition when opposition would only have embittered. Observers used to report periodically to the American Peace Commission in Paris that Italy was on the verge of revolution. The revolution they predicted never came; but the real revolution is under way.

It is curious that the two great Latin countries should face their crises in such divergent fashion. A relentless fate seems to be pursuing battered France. After the German invasion and the devastation, she suffers from an uncompromising bourgeoisie which acts as if determined to ride France to destruction. Plans for peaceful transformation devised by her moderate labor leaders have been first tossed aside by the bourgeoisie which dominates the Government, and then rejected by the rank and file of labor. The Government drove a sharp bargain with the moderate leaders of the railwaymen in February and then refused to keep its promises; the railwaymen replied by ousting the old and installing revolutionary union officials, who promptly called another railway strike. France had four revolutions in a century, and the cards seem shuffled for more violence. From each of its annual crushings the revolutionary French labor movement has risen more powerful and more violent. Perhaps it is fated to have its day, possibly like the Commune. But whether because of, or in spite of, or apart from, the avowed revolutionaries, the revolution is under way.

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Act-of-Hate Palmer

By SWINBURNE HALE

I INTEND, in this article, to make some extreme statements. They concern Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer and his administration of the Department of Justice. Statements of fact they are—not "charges" or opinions. That some readers may doubt them is as it should be—such things have heretofore not existed in America. Brutality, torture, forgery, theft—provoking crime in order to detect it—are novelties when practised in the name of Justice. The facts that I shall set forth are based in the main on sworn testimony, confirmed by the camera and by Department of Justice secret documents. The reader who doubts—and doubts rightly, as I have said—may find the evidence in the Report on the Illegal Practises of the Department of Justice, published by the National Popular Government League at Washington, and signed by Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School and five other teachers of law, and by Frank P. Walsh of New York and five other practising attorneys—a jury of twelve experts sitting in judgment. Since that report was published I have sat in the House Rules Committee room and listened to Mr. Palmer's detailed defense upon the facts. That defense seemed to me almost more damning than the indictment, being compounded of false testimony and equivocal boasting. The indictment stood unimpaired. It all depends, as Mr. Palmer said, on whom you believe. Either you believe that Mr. Palmer's agents beat up the Russians and broke the furniture, or you believe that the Russians beat up Mr. Palmer's agents, and the next day some small boys got in and broke the furniture. Take your choice.

The rules of the criminal law were devised with the object of making it harder to punish people. Undoubtedly. We limit our governments. We limit our prosecuting attorneys. We say to them, "Go ahead as far as you can go until you bump into a rule. Stop there." Such is our common law inheritance. Such are the limitations imposed by successive revolutions in the Anglo-Saxon race from 1215 to 1776.

The trouble with Mr. Palmer is that he is impatient of rules. Mr. Palmer wants to be able to punish people not individually but wholesale; not according to their personal guilt, but according to whether they play around with other people that he does not like; not according to whether they have actually done anything, but according to what they have thought or what he thinks they thought; and finally not according to proof but according to executive suspicion and propaganda. Mr. Palmer does not say he is impatient of the rules. He says he is impatient of those who break them. But when he comes to inflicting punishment, or getting ready new machinery for inflicting punishment, his impatience cannot tolerate his principles. As for example—

Sedition: Whoever with the intent . . . to cause the change . . . of any of the laws . . . threatens to commit . . . . any act of . . . hate . . . against the person or property of any officer . . . of the United States . . . shall be deemed guilty of sedition. . . .

Promoting Sedition: Whoever makes . . . any sign, word, speech, picture, design, argument, or teaching, which advises any act of sedition . . . or becomes . . . affiliated with any society . . . which has for its object . . . teaching or justifying any act of sedition . . . shall be deemed guilty of promoting sedition. . . .

The above is no fanciful device, but the bare bones of a bill which was solemnly proposed November 14th last by the Attorney General of the United States to the Senate of the United States as absolutely essential to preserving the Government of the United States in peace times. In this bill, with its definition of crime by threat, and its doctrine of guilt by affiliation, is to be found the essential psychology of all that point of view in America which has created not only Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer but the House Immigration Committee, the New York Lusk Committee, the irresponsible arbiters of the Postoffice Department, and the various other champions of the sort of thing that we used to deplore when practised in other countries, but which many otherwise kindly and useful citizens have lately regarded as desirable in ours.

Whoever threatened to commit an Act of Hate against an officer of the United States, Mr. Palmer thought, should be put away for a period not exceeding twenty years—thereby suggesting the essential clemency of a mind which would not recommend life imprisonment or death. For Mr. Palmer is always in his public appearances ostensibly the embodiment of every free principle that government could ask for. No one more than he insists upon the preservation of free speech, provided no one says anything which is unfree; no one more than he yields to no man in his admiration for the Fathers; no one is more able to put a wise and benevolent exterior upon the practise of terrorism. No one more than Mr. Palmer is able not only to threaten, but to direct, repeated Acts of Hate, while he pretends that they proceed from the highest human morality. Low acts and high ideals. A fighting pacifist; a surly Samaritan; a spying defender of free speech. Listen to Mr. Palmer's own statement of his adaptability:

> Every instinct of my nature, planted there by heredity, by training at my mother's knee, by education, by teaching in the holy place of God's worship, revolts at the thought of war—yet I was for this war from beginning to end.
>
> We cannot be less willing now than we have always been that the oppressed of every clime shall find here a refuge from trouble, disorder, and distress; . . . those who remain shall stay with the intent to become Americans in every [Palmer] sense.
>
> The life of the Republic depends upon the free dissemination of ideas and the guaranties of freedom of speech, press and assembly, long held sacred in the minds of our people. These rights must not be abridged in any particular. [But pass my Sedition Law!]

Mr. Palmer's peace time sedition bill was intended to be applied to citizens. It has still to become law. Americans may still be moderately free. Meanwhile, the Attorney General has had to content himself with pursuing aliens. And in this pursuit of persons who were voteless, usually propertyless, speaking little or no English, workingmen and workingwomen with no visible protection and little stake in the community, the Department of Justice has been able to vent all of the suppressed vindictiveness and ignorance that lie behind a psychology which can propose an Act of Hate as a test of criminal guilt. The Department has even been able to vent itself on a great many citizens, too, as well as aliens, by conveniently assuming that such citizens were aliens,

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until it had got them well punished and sent home. The Act of Hate has become official, has become standardized and efficient, rewarded with the Iron Cross and honorably mentioned in the order of the day. And what is the result in human suffering of this policy of the Act of Hate?

I do not mean merely in cases of individual torture and sadism and crime committed by agents of the Department of Justice and connived at or covered up by the Department. I do not refer merely to the thuggery which beat Oscar J. Tywerewski to a pulp in the presence of five invited newspaper reporters and then terrorized them into silence and officially whitewashed the affair—nor to the suffocation nearly to death of Peter Musek and Anton Dimitroff and Semeon Nakhwat in the "steam room" of the Hartford jail—nor to the broken body of fifty-year-old Professor Lavrowsky whose crime was teaching algebra in Russian instead of in English—nor to twelve-year-old Violet Bukowetsky who smoothed the guard's face with her hand and cried, "Please don't hurt my father and mother!" only to see them both struck to the floor—nor to Andrea Salsedo and Roberto Elia held in eight weeks' secret confinement in the offices of the Department in the Park Row Building in New York City, and tortured physically or mentally till Salsedo obtained surcease by jumping from the fourteenth story window—nor to the forgery of Gaspare Cannone's name to false testimony after filthy words and beatings had not broken him down—nor to the wholesale blackjacking of three hundred Russians at once at 133 East 15th Street, New York City—nor to any of the thousand and one other criminal acts which have been intentionally and purposely done to terrorize the foreign working population.

These things are horrible enough, and Mr. Palmer has known of them (at least of Tywerewski and the three hundred Russians and Elia and Salsedo) and sanctioned them with his silence—but they are among the extreme cases, the worst cases, in which other minds than Mr. Palmer's, brutalized minds of agents and jailers, have had a part. What I want the reader to visualize is the merely average case, the *normal* case, that must inevitably result over and over and over again from just pure Palmerism, from the mass-action of mass law flung against masses of people at once. And for this purpose I pick—fairly, I think—the case of Mrs. Stanislas Vasiliewska.

Mrs. Vasiliewska was a married woman and the mother of three infant children. She resided in Chelsea, Mass. On the evening of January 2 last she stopped with her eldest little girl at a meeting in Low's Hall, Chelsea, where there were present about twenty-five persons, mostly Russian. Now let Mrs. Vasiliewska speak for herself, as she spoke on oath in the court room of Judge Anderson in Boston:

> I went with my little girl, 13 years old, to do the shopping for next morning, and I stepped in the hall to the mailman to give a letter I had, and when I went there I meet quite a few people there; . . . so there comes a civilian man . . . and there comes some police in uniforms and they make every man "Hands up!" So every man just stand like that and they fish all the pockets in the men; they don't fish my pockets—of course not—and they get to me, they look all over the bag, but there was nothing in it because I did not buy anything yet. So they looked all over the hall; they broke the platform, looked all over, move every chair; of course take every picture from the wall, the sign "No Smoking" in Russian language—take the signs and everything and put in their patrol wagon, and they put every man two by two handcuffed and put those men and another lady and the child in a patrol wagon with those pictures they take from the wall. . . . Well, I wasn't care for it, because I was thinking about the two children was waiting for me. . . . They bring us to Chelsea police station; they closed me and my little girl and another lady in one cell, and the other lady she was in the family way, and she was kind of nervous. . . . There was one bed there, very narrow . . . and I make her lay down for a while, and she kick one sheet all off and I find under the clean sheet a very dirty mattress, and I couldn't sit down or lay down, I had to stay there all one night. About twelve o'clock at night they take my little girl and send her home all alone . . . about fifteen or twenty minutes' walk from the police station, and you know there isn't no city, just a country place, a field. . . . Half-past eight or nine o'clock in the morning I was put in an automobile, you know, machine, and I has a ride to the boat—I don't know the boat, I forget the name of the boat—but three of us, two man was handcuffed on, and me and two policeman and one man of Justice in the machine . . . they took me to the boat, but the boat was gone and we had to wait till afternoon boat. . . . So, of course, they don't get no room for me. They put the men in a separate room so one man take me—he was a very big man, I believe he was stronger than I—and he pushed me into the toilet . . . on the wharf where I was waiting for the boat . . . and I don't know how long I was stayed that time waiting until the afternoon boat, but it seemed to me I stayed very long there; and I stayed in the toilet about—I don't know, there wasn't no clock there, I could not tell the time, but it seemed very long. I was feeled cold; I asked him for heat and he give me some heat; and after I stayed there long, they push another woman in. I find out it was Mrs. Colyer. She was pushed into the same toilet. It was more than dirty; I can't tell how it was looking, because it was in the station; a lot of cigars and spitting on the floor and everything, and it was dirty; and I wait until the afternoon boat, and when the boat come we went on the boat and so we got to Deer Island.

And it was many days after that before Mrs. Vasiliewska could communicate with friends, or obtain any lawyer to help her, or find out what had become of her children. Any warrant for her arrest? Not necessary in Palmerism. Any warrant to break the platform and carry off the pictures? Equally unnecessary. Any previous charges or reasonable cause shown under the law? No. Only a vague suspicion that the twenty-five persons in the hall were bent on overthrowing the government of Mr. Palmer by making speeches to each other in the Russian language.

The story of Mrs. Vasiliewska has been multiplied by five or six thousand since the first of November last, when agents of the Department of Justice, throughout the country, began the carrying out of Mr. Palmer's program of the Act of Hate. Exact figures do not exist; 3,000 have been arrested and held; only the Department of Justice can guess whether 2,000 or 3,000 were arrested and released. Since November 1, in raid after raid, from New York to Seattle, Washington, men and women (both aliens and citizens) have been taken up wholesale without any warrant or process of law. Citizens and aliens have been jailed and held incomunicado without access of friends or counsel. Their homes and clubhouses have been broken into without search warrant and their property stolen or destroyed. They have been struck with fists, beaten with blackjacks, maimed and tortured. Persons have been compelled to be witnesses against themselves and to answer questions in secret inquisition before being allowed the right of counsel or of bail. Persons against whom there were deportation warrants of the Department of Labor outstanding have been spirited away by the Department of Justice and held in unknown confinement. Under-cover spies employed by the Depart-

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ment of Justice have worked their way up in radical groups and informed upon the members, or incited them to the commission of supposed crime, operating as zealous agitators and becoming, in some cases, the leaders of radical activity in their districts.

Before the national raids of the night of January 2, these under-cover provocative agents were used to call meetings of the Communists for that particular night so as to make it possible to arrest them wholesale, in accordance with the following written instructions issued direct from the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington:

> If possible you should arrange with your under-cover informants to have meetings of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party held on the night set. I have been informed by some of the Bureau offices that such arrangements will be made. This, of course, would facilitate making arrests.

The machinery of the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor has been used by the steel and coal companies in West Virginia and Pennsylvania to get rid of "troublesome" workers and labor organizers. Private detective agencies have been busy working hand in hand with the Department of Justice. And throughout this shameful pageant of terrorism, Mr. Palmer's efficient and elaborate propaganda bureau has been busy flooding the press with matter to incite public feeling against aliens and workingmen who were, or who were called, radicals, so as to inure the sentiment of the country to a continuation of such wholesale lawlessness, and such abuse of the high Constitutional liberties of America.

If there is one illegality among the many upon which I wish to lay special emphasis, it is Mr. Palmer's employment of provocative agents, or "agents provocateurs" as they used to be known in the slimy undercurrents of Bismarck or the Romanoffs. Now it may be that Mr. Palmer can make out a logical case for lip-service to Americanism, and still defend his use of these under-cover instigators of trouble. But, somehow, the American people as a whole has always reacted to the mere idea of secret spies provoking crime with singular unaniminity and disgust. The American people simply happen not to like such an institution. They simply do not happen to like the necessity of hearing in their courts such testimony as I will now quote from the examination of George E. Kelleher, Division Superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, before Judge Anderson in Boston:

> Q. You had good reason to know about some of these meetings, did you not?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. You had even reason to know that the meeting would be held, did you not?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. *And in some instances you even stimulated the calling of the meeting, did you not?*
>
> (Objection; overruled.)
>
> A. *Possibly. It may be that that did not apply in this particular district; it may be that it did. . . .*
>
> Q. *In other words, the meeting was arranged at which these people were to be found?*
>
> A. *There is that possibility.*
>
> Q. And that possibility is not excluded in the instructions which you got from Washington?
>
> A. Not at all.
>
> Q. In fact, that possibility is included in the instructions which you got from Washington?
>
> A. Yes, sir.

Nor do the American people particularly like to listen to the following evidence from Mr. William J. West, Mr. Kelleher's subordinate, who also testified, however evasively, before Judge Anderson as follows:

> Q. You remember the instructions, Mr. West?
>
> A. I remember the instructions; yes, sir.
>
> Q. *Did you impart those instructions to your cover informants?*
>
> A. I cannot say.
>
> Q. *You are not prepared to deny it?*
>
> A. *I am not.*
>
> Q. *And presumably you acted upon instructions that came to you from your chief at Washington, did you not?*
>
> A. *I in each instance carried out all instructions issued to me, to the best of my knowledge.*
>
> Q. And do you recall there were specific instructions to hold meetings that night?
>
> A. I recall; yes, sir.
>
> The Court: *Were Communist meetings actually held that night?*
>
> The Witness: *Yes, sir.*
>
> The Court: In large numbers?
>
> The Witness: On the night of January 2 there were Communist meetings held at Worcester, there was a meeting at the city headquarters in Boston, there was a meeting at Nashua, N. H.; I believe there was a meeting in Lynn, I believe a meeting in Springfield.

Mr. Palmer should be made to appear before the bar of the Senate, to answer in his own person, upon impeachment proceedings, the charge that more than any other man in America, and more than any other man who has occupied a cabinet position in the American Government since its beginning, he should be removed from his office for high crimes and misdemeanors. In such an impeachment proceeding there can be no question of any political move merely to discredit Mr. Palmer as a Presidential aspirant. He is no longer an aspirant for the Presidency, or for anything except oblivion. His campaign of excitation of clamor against the "Reds," combined with his conspicuous failure to dig coal by injunction, and to produce any effect on the price of living by jailing obscure retailers, his record in sugar and in oil, his record in alien property custodianship, and his use of the Department of Justice to further his own ends, were challenges thrown out to the American people and bound either to make or to break Mr. Palmer. They have already broken him. For a month, now, the signs have been unmistakable of a great weariness on the part of the American people for government of this sort. The one question still remaining as to Mr. Palmer is the question whether the high reins of authority of the Department of Justice shall be left until March 4 next in the hands of a man who has so shamed America in the hearts of her citizens and in the eyes of the world.

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Louis F. Post—American

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

THE United States is in the midst of a tremendous anti-labor campaign. One of its features is an attack on the Department of Labor, which has already suffered serious emasculation. During recent months the Attorney General and the House Committee on Immigration, aided and abetted by the Commissioner General of Immigration, who for years has been industriously boring from within, have been engaged in a concerted effort to discredit the Department, representing it as the defender of anarchists, alien "radicals," and all the other wild dervishes with whom the labor baiters seek to torture the disordered imagination of an uninformed and excited people. This latest attack has been directed specially against Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis F. Post, who during recent months has been directly in charge of deportation cases for the Department.

To those who know him, Mr. Post needs no defense; but apparently the anti-laborites of the House did not know him. There was accordingly some oratorical bombardment by such men as Blanton, the labor-hating buffoon from Texas, and Davey of Ohio, of fragrant sedition-bill memory, whose measure commanded the approval of the Attorney General. Hoch of Kansas rushed in with an impeachment resolution—the last thing in the world the leaders wanted, because an impeachment trial would mean bringing out all the facts. So the matter was switched over to the powerful Committee on Rules, and word went forth that the proceedings would develop an inquiry into the charge made repeatedly on the floors of Congress, that the Department of Labor is "packed with radicals." An intimation was given out that the Committee on Rules, instead of impeachment proceedings, contemplated presentation of a resolution for the removal of Mr. Post should the charges against him be sustained.

Hearings began on April 27. Representative Johnson of Washington, chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, alien-hater and Red-hunter-in-chief to the House, brought forth his charges:

> In my opinion the public is not seeing red without a reason. It is seeing its laws violated by public officials in behalf of aliens who have contempt for this Government, who are trying to overthrow it, and who in league with similar revolutionists throughout the world, whether they call themselves socialists, Bolshevists, communists, or anarchists, or whether they contribute dollars to "the cause" or throw bombs for "the cause" (*sic*). Neither these aliens nor their revolutionary notions are needed in the United States, and, if necessary, Congress should clean out any executive department that encourages these aliens or indorses their ideas. Personally I cannot believe that Secretary Wilson knows what sort of boring from within is going on within this department, and I do not believe President Wilson knows of the situation and its dangers.

There it is in a nutshell. Specifically, Mr. Johnson charged the Assistant Secretary with going over the heads of the Commissioner General of Immigration and the law clerks of his bureau, and with undertaking himself to define the word anarchist. Other members of the same committee charged that he had canceled warrants of deportation without any hearings before him of any description, and in certain cases in absolute violation of the law, that he advocated free love in a book he once wrote, and that "he has a party of his own, the single tax party and the free love party." These charges were given wide publicity all over the country. Mr. Post quietly bided his time.

The evening newspapers of May 4, however, contained a suggestion that the case might be closed without further hearings. Thereupon Mr. Post demanded the right to be heard, and on May 7 and 8, in a crowded committee room, he presented his defense. A little fiery man with bushy hair and whiskers, full of life and energy, he covered the whole case as to both the law and the facts, and shortly before he finished, Congressman Pou summarized the feeling, probably, of every fair-minded auditor when he said: "I want to say, Mr. Secretary, that my feeling is that in what you have done, speaking for myself, I believe you have followed your sense of duty absolutely"—and, he might have added, kept absolutely within the law, as the evidence shows.

The so-called anarchist law of October 16, 1918, provides for the exclusion from the United States, or for the deportation, upon warrant of the Secretary of Labor, of

> aliens who are anarchists; aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; aliens who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States. . . .

Section 19 of the law of February 5, 1917, gives the Secretary of Labor exclusive jurisdiction in deportation cases. He, and he alone, decides whether a warrant of deportation shall be issued, and his decision is final. The examination of the alien must be held by an inspector under the Immigration Bureau at a station; but under the law no person but the Secretary has a shadow of authority to make a decision. That authority the Secretary has deputed to the Assistant Secretary.

A practice had grown up in the Department, however, under which the Commissioner General of Immigration, who in a ministerial capacity transmitted the report of the immigration inspector in deportation cases, accompanied it by a recommendation for deportation or cancelation, with the word "Approved" added for the Secretary's signature. This arrangement Mr. Post changed, substituting the words "Deport" and "Cancel" for the word "Approved," because, to quote his own words, "I did not want to approve or to appear to approve all of the stuff that was in those memorandums. I did not want to be responsible for it." The Immigration Committee in its criticisms made much of the Assistant Secretary's action in "over-ruling" the Commissioner General, but Mr. Post showed conclusively that that official had no authority whatever to make any decision in deportation cases.

Further, and more important, he demonstrated that "the Commissioner General's statement of facts and his conclusion from the facts and his recommendation to the Department of Labor was at variance with the evidence, and the evidence is not put in here [referring to the Immigration Committee's report]." To quote Mr. Post:

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I had given very little credence to those memorandums for years, because I had found out they were unreliable for the reason the men who wrote them under the Commissioner General's supervision wrote them to please the Commissioner General. Frequently I would read hearings which lead directly to one conclusion—cancelation—and then would find the last paragraph calling for deportation.

Next for the Communist raids and deportations. Under the law mere membership in an organization advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence renders an alien liable to deportation. Most of the cases over which the Department of Justice has sounded such loud alarums have been mere membership cases, not cases of men charged with any overt act or even threat of such act. The charge has rested, in fact, on the use in party platforms of revolutionary phrases commonly employed for a century past. From November 1 to April 26, the number of warrants of arrest issued was approximately 6,350; the number of arrests 3,000. Of all those arrested, there were not more than 40 or 50 who testified or against whom it was testified, that they favored the overthrow of the Government by violence.

Nevertheless, the Secretary of Labor decided that the Communist Party and the Union of Russian Workers came within the category of prohibited organizations—in the case of the Communist Party by reason of the employment in its constitution of phrases that indicate violent purpose against the United States. It is a pity that the Secretary of Labor did not have the backbone to make an opposite decision. The Communist Labor Party and the I. W. W., however, have been held not to fall under the ban. These decisions made, the task of the Assistant Secretary, acting for his superior, became simply to determine who were bona fide members of the proscribed organizations, and it is his action in this class of cases that has served as excuse for the attack on him.

Probably no more outrageous violations of the elementary principles of personal liberty are on record in the United States than are to be found in the treatment of aliens during the past six months by Messrs. Palmer and Caminetti and others. The facts, spread in court records, and the files of the Department of Labor are enough to make every genuine American blush with shame. Constitutional guarantees have been thrust aside; all pretense at legal process has been trampled under foot; Mr. Palmer's agents have been lawless to an extent unbelievable by anyone who has not examined the evidence. When the Assistant Secretary of Labor, therefore, came to apply the rules of law and legal procedure to the great mass of cases that were suddenly piled up, he faced a prodigious task. The decisions of a man trying to be fair and to apply the law without injustice to aliens as well as citizens are naturally displeasing to men like Congressman Johnson, who during the hearing delivered himself of this remarkable statement:

> These fiends of the world do not want any alien enemy deported. That is all there is to it. . . . When these raids were made in one town in an Eastern State, had the orders been fully carried out, every man in that town except the mayor and the postmaster would have been placed in jail for belonging to this Communist party. . . . Every man was in that party for the purpose of destroying every property mark in the United States, every building where there is a deed, every marker stone.

It is in face of such a spirit as this that Mr. Post has acted to administer—the law, not his own feelings.

To decide when a man is a member of an organization might be thought an easy task. It is really vastly difficult when it is a new party formed in part by bodily transfer of local branches from a pre-existing party, to say nothing of other difficulties. To deport a man just because his Socialist local, perhaps without his knowledge, voted to join the Communist Party, looks like poor law, to say nothing of being far removed from common sense. Yet Mr. Post has been sharply criticized for failure to deport in cases involving no culpability whatever except such "automatic" membership. His statement of the rules he had employed in determining membership and the court decisions on which he had relied was so conclusive, however, as to stop the mouth of his critics.

In all but two of the cases instanced by the Immigration Committee, Mr. Post showed that the committee had carefully refrained from presenting the evidence on which his decisions were based, and with some difficulty he forced the testimony into the record. A brief glance at the Truss case, typical of hundreds of others, must suffice for our purpose.

Thomas Truss, a Pole, resident in Baltimore since 1907, a peaceable, hard-working man, and an elder in the Polish church, was arrested without warrant on January 7 and locked up on the charge of membership in the Communist Party and the Union of Russian Workers. Released on bail on January 15, he was given a hearing five days later. The record reached the Commissioner General on February 14. He held it until it was demanded by the Assistant Secretary on April 2. Four days later the deportation warrant was canceled.

The evidence shows that Truss was a member of an organization which later merged into the Union of Russian Workers, whereupon he dropped his membership. About June or July of last year he made application to join the Communist Party, then forming, because the organizer "he told me that the communists shall bring all kind of big industries, mines, and railroads, like the post office, everything shall belong to the Government; that is communists; then the Government take care, and everything that it be good then, for all work for the Government"—and this from a man trying to overthrow the Government by force and violence! A local branch was formed, and Truss paid two months' dues in advance. On September 5 the Communist Party was actually organized in Chicago, and the constitution adopted which renders alien members of the party liable to deportation. A charter was sent to the Baltimore branch on September 14; but as no copy of the constitution had been sent, nor any organizer to explain further the purpose of the organization, that branch in October held a dissolution meeting and returned its charter. Therefore, on January 7, Truss was arrested for membership in the party. The case is monstrous—and it is typical.

For meting out bare justice to men such as Thomas Truss the Assistant Secretary of Labor has been made the target for vitriolic attacks by men to whom he represents a thing they hate—industrial justice. But some day, when the history of American liberty comes to be written, the name of Louis F. Post will be given a high place, because he dared in a trying time to defy the forces of madness and hatred and greed that now threaten to overwhelm us. It is not the persecuted aliens who owe him the heaviest debt of gratitude; rather it is those Americans who still believe, despite Mr. Palmer and all he stands for, that this America of ours is yet to be preserved as a land of liberty and justice.

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Company-Owned Americans

By ARTHUR GLEASON

Montani semper liberi
(Motto of West Virginia)

THE attorney of the Mine Workers has filed suits against the coal companies who have evicted miners. Each suit is for $10,000 damages for unlawful eviction. This touches the heart of the West Virginia trouble. In the non-union counties, houses are owned by the coal companies. Justice is administered by the coal companies. Constitutional rights are interpreted by the coal companies. Food and clothing are sold (though not exclusively) in company stores. The miners worship in a company church, are preached at by a company pastor; play pool in the company Y. M. C. A.; gain education in a company school; receive treatment from a company doctor and hospital; die on company land. From the cradle to the grave, they draw breath by the grace of the sometimes absentee coal owner, one of whose visible representatives is the deputy sheriff, a public official in the pay of the coal owner. As a worker under similar conditions once said: "We work in *his* plant. We live in *his* house. Our children go to *his* school. On Sunday we go to hear *his* preacher. And when we die we are buried in *his* cemetery."

The employees live in *company houses*. Everything belongs to the mine owners, and home ownership is not permitted. The lease of the Logan Mining Company reads that when the miner's employment ceases, "either for cause or without cause the right of said employee and his family to use and occupy premises shall simultaneously end and terminate." The miners generally pay $8 a month for a four-room house, a dollar for coal, 50 cents to a dollar for lights. Fulton Mitchell, deputy sheriff, states:

> My understanding is that most of the companies have a form of lease, and when they lease to miners they reserve the right to object to any person other than employees coming on their possessions.

They do object. Mr. A. Bays is a traveling salesman who "works" the Logan District. He describes it:

> Every operation has its armed guard—usually two. I was served with a little notice by a deputy sheriff in Logan, at Logan Court House, Fult Mitchell, to not go up Island Creek any more, that it was dangerous and I was liable to get shot. I had an option on a piece of coal land. The notice served on me by this man Mitchell forbade me using the railroad going up there and back.

The children of the employees receive *company-aided education*. E. F. Scaggs is Logan County Superintendent of Schools. He says:

> We have 250 schools, every teacher counts a school, with a school population of 10,361. Actual enrolment is 8,650. There are three districts. In every district in the county the salaries of the teachers are supplemented. The Stone Branch Coal Co. proposed if I would get them a teacher, they would pay $15 on the salary. The Board of Education pays $1,125 for a principal at the Omar Schools. The Main Island Creek Coal Co. made it $2,500. J. W. Miller at Ethel is being paid $15 a month extra by the Coal Companies. I am trying to tell the interest taken in the schools by the Coal Companies. The Coal Companies at a number of places have built schoolhouses, and it cost them from seven down to five and up to eight thousand dollars, and they are waiting on the board until the board is financially able to reimburse them. A lot of medical inspection is being looked after in the schools by company physicians.

The company stimulates *religion*. Mr. W. O. Percival superintends the Island Creek Coal Company, and says he dismissed Dan Chapple for talking unionism. He adds:

> We have one Y. M. C. A. located at Whitmans (H. C. Mix) and one at Monaville (J. G. Suttles). We contribute $1,000 a year to each Y. M. C. A. The county employed teachers for six months, and the Island Creek Coal Co. extended this term on all schools for three months, and the expense for teachers was $4,360.50. At the school buildings we also supplied such things as slides, teeter-totters, and such things that cost us $600. I don't believe we mentioned the church game. On the churches, we have one Union Church, one Catholic, one Greek Catholic, and the two Y. M. C. A.'s are used for Sunday School. One church is used principally by the Holiness people. One colored church and two schoolhouses are used by the Negroes. We also operate a sanitary dairy. This is a photograph of the dairy. We have five deputy sheriffs. The company contributes enough to cover the service that they render us.

The Logan Mining Company employs 600 men, and is managed by J. J. Ross. Mr. Ross says:

> In 1916 our company paid an 18 per cent dividend; in 1917, 12 per cent. Our company contributes about $50 a month toward the minister at Earling, $40 a month at Dingess Run, and also contributes to the Y. M. C. A. on Island Creek. I have always been opposed to unionization. I object to groups dealing with us to this extent: I don't think they can make their wants known as well as they would individually. We pay the deputy at Monaville. We did pay the man on Dingess Run extra, but I don't know whether we do now or not, and at Earling we pay the man extra. We try to consider our employees and ourselves the same as one large family, realizing that the company must make a reasonable profit if they want to do the best they can for the men in the way of wages and living conditions.

The coal companies subsidize *health*.
Dr. R. R. Vaughn states:

> The United States Coal and Oil Company of Holden own a hospital. They check off from their men to pay for that hospital or to take care of it. My own employment is by assessment on the men. The married men are assessed $1.20 a month, and the single men 70 cents a month—checked off from the pay roll.

The President and General Manager of the Rum Creek Collieries Company, J. M. Vest, says:

> We are doing this as a business policy. A lot of this welfare work is done with that object in view. We think that it is good business. We have had no strikes in seventeen years.

Logan County, *where justice* is administered by *privately-owned* agents, is a peaceable and orderly community. Property is safe. Womanhood is guarded. The only item with which folks are careless is human life, and that only when it concerns itself with forming unions.

The Nation of May 29 described the efficient system of deputy sheriffs, paid for by the coal companies. These cool, alert men do not approve of "union agitation." John Napier, a Logan miner, confesses:

> Us boys called for our rights, asking to be as American citizens, and for pay like other coal fields had. We wasn't getting enough for our families. Don Chafin takes me to the office and they fired me. Chafin says, "In the morning when we come, if you ain't out we're goin' to take you out with a wagon." I says, "My wife is in a condition she can't move." He says, "We are not responsible for anything like that."

Elliott Hargis, miner of Logan, says:

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Mr. Wilson, our superintendent, when he wants anything done, he calls up Don Chafin. "Don, where is your men? How many men can you get at such and such a time?" and he tells him. I heard it myself. He called Don up and told him "something is goin' on in this camp. Get your men and look about it." Don Chafin and Joe Hatfield come down the road and met me. Don hit at me. One of the other deputies hit me on the side of the head and knocked me down on my knees. They got me down and beat me a while and stomped me in the head, and finally Don quit. Don says: "I don't want to catch you in here again."

So faithful is the guard kept against unions that the miners, who violate this tradition of Logan, carry concealed weapons—in one case, a long knife up the sleeve.

It is felt to be expedient by Logan officials that miners should not get together in groups and talk. This is called "bunching," and the danger is that they might discuss unionizing. Randolph M. Dial, deputy sheriff, tells how he saw a group forming:

A bunch of men gathering up there that way was something unusual. You don't see it in the coalfields. I expect there was 25 or 30 bunched together, and I asked what they were doing there.

The companies create and control *living conditions*.

The Logan coal fields are new. As the result, a number of the operators have come in with modern ideas, and installed housing that is superior to that of the average of older organized mining towns. Logan County compares favorably with other West Virginia fields and with Ohio fields in housing, health, sanitation, recreation.

Last year Logan produced nine and a half of the 76 million tons of the State, with 9,444 persons employed in and about the Logan mines.

One of the points of grievance is that Logan miners are paid for the car-load instead of by weight. A miner, W. M. Lyons, says:

We come out and asked them to weigh our coal. They give me a house notice and put me out. About 90 per cent of the men want to organize. I ain't heard but two men that spoke against it.

J. S. Terry is a merchant of Aracoma, Logan County. He states:

There is a difference in the size of the cars, I think, and a difference in the prices for the car. All the miners that I know of over there would be glad to have scales. They are now paid by the car, some at 50, some at 60, and 70, up to 90 cents a car. I think the living conditions are very good, so far as I know. The biggest complaint in that field is about those guards. They claim they are taking it off of the coal to pay those fellows when they really ought to give it to them. They think these guards are against the right of free speech, that they have them to keep them from organizing.

Some of the miners believe that those coal cars contain on an average 2.53 tons and that they are underpaid. They desire a system of weighing. The latest report of the Department of Mines shows that for the State of West Virginia pick miners received 92 cents a car and 69 cents a ton. In Logan County they received 71 cents a car and 52 cents a ton. Machine miners received on the average for the State 55 cents a car and 39 cents a ton. In Logan, they received 53 cents a car and 32 cents a ton. The Federal Trade Commission reports that labor costs in Logan are $1.24 a ton, as compared with $1.59 for the State, and $1.78 for the United States.*

In organized districts, overtime work is paid at increased rates. Thomas F. Downing, General Manager of the Monitor and Yuma Mines, Logan County, makes this statement:

We pay the same rate for hours over eight hours.

Mr. Jones says:

We have to work over eight hours in a great many instances, but the men are paid. We pay one-eighth of the day's work per hour for overtime. He is paid for his overtime at the same rate he is paid per hour for work on the other eight.

Says Mr. Downing:

Whenever you have the union, you reduce the production materially. It is a continuous series of petty strikes.

R. L. Wildermuth, an operator in both West Virginia and Ohio, states:

I should say the efficiency is 25 per cent greater in Logan than in Ohio.

I wish to pay my tribute to the courtesy and fair-mindedness of Governor Cornwell. He placed at my disposal all the facts in the possession of the State Government. His one request was that they should be revealed. He said to me:

I am unwilling to discuss these matters with a propagandist who does not respect facts. In your visit to Logan County, made for the purpose of an impartial investigation of the health, sanitary, and industrial conditions, you doubtless found some of the best housing and hospitals for workers in the State. The living conditions are better in Logan than in many of the counties of the State.

You have noted that the union men arrested by the deputies were carrying weapons. You are aware that it is the policy of the United Mine Workers to plant their own men inside a district. It is perfectly true that Logan officials do not want organizers inside the county. On occasion, they have treated organizers roughly, even beaten them up. But it has not been proved that the majority of Logan miners wish to be organized. In fact, some of them were in the force that went to oppose the invasion of Logan on September 6 by armed miners who marched from Lens Creek, Kanawha County, to Coal River, Boone County, and whose purpose was to invade the Guyan Coal Fields.

The point of the whole controversy is whether unions in Logan are to be organized from the outside, or not. The United Mine Workers organizers claim it as a constitutional right.

I made a visit to Logan to witness the health campaign of Dr. S. L. Jepson, State Commissioner of Health, in conjunction with Dr. Lewis, of the International Health Board. This board and the State Department of Health are carrying on a health drive for Logan County. They study rural sanitation, make a survey of sickness, emphasize child welfare. They use stereopticon, motion picture, posters, and pamphlets. They visit the schools and homes. The local educational authorities, the best of the operators, are welcoming this work. That is a picture of peace.

Then we have the Senatorial Report of the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek outbreak with 21 murders. Senator James Martine said that "the hiring of armed bodies of men by private mine owners" and other devices are "but a little way removed from barbarism."

Of the making of reports on West Virginia there is no end. A famous Y. M. C. A. leader made a searching investigation a few years ago. A report slumbers in the Department of Labor. But these reports are always made after the killing. The southwest of the State is preparing for another civil war. These two articles in *The Nation* are respectfully submitted to the Federal authorities as a report before the event.

* One Logan operator averaged his total pay roll and finds he is paying $108.59 a month to each worker.

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Where Your Money Goes

By CHARLES PATRICK SWEENEY

"MORE wages and less work" and similar generalizations systematically applied to the American workingman since the armistice evaporate in the exposure of corporate profiteering during and since the war conducted by W. Jett Lauck, consulting economist, for the seventeen Brotherhoods and Unions of railroad employees. Mr. Lauck, an expert whose ability and dependability have weathered many severe tests, was retained by the railroad unions to defend by facts and figures their demand for the establishment of the minimum living wage principle as the permanent basis for wage adjustments in the railroad industry. Mr. Lauck works simply. In this case he sets out to prove that the railroad workers were not receiving a living wage and that the cause of the prevailing high prices of life's necessities is not inflated wages but inflated profits. With the assistance of the Bureau of Applied Economics, a highly efficient private statistical organization in Washington, and a small corps of experts mobilized for the occasion, Mr. Lauck assembled the financial reports of American corporations, translated the manuals of Poor and Moody into tables that would mean something to the layman, and analyzed the statistics of the Income Tax Division of the Treasury, the Tariff Commission, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and other governmental agencies. The result was the document known as "The Relation Between Wages and the Increased Cost of Living; an Analysis of the Effect of Increased Wages and Profits Upon Commodity Prices," submitted in full (about 5,000 typewritten pages) as evidence to the United States Railroad Labor Board, and summarized for general circulation as a pamphlet under the same title. It is the standard authoritative compilation on profiteering. Also, it represents probably the most valuable service to the country's understanding of current conditions that could be rendered by any industrial group at this time. For the railroad workers, in retaining Mr. Lauck, have successfully defended American labor as a whole against the charge of profiteering and gone to great pains to prove the case against real profiteers not only in their own behalf but in behalf of the workers in each of the principal industries of the country. Mr. Lauck's facts, which the New York *World* says "are incontrovertible unless the corporations of the country want to take the position that their own financial statements are false," comprise a convincing indictment of organized capital, showing it to have made of the war and the post-war periods the occasions of unprecedented aggrandizement.

What more important fact could the Associated Press, for instance, carry as news to its millions of readers than this one uncontested bit of evidence in the testimony of Mr. Lauck before the Railroad Labor Board:

> The simplest way to state the only conclusion to be drawn from the income statistics is to say that as a result of the war the rich are richer and the poor are poorer; that the proportion of increase in income has been governed by the size of the income, the proportion of increase growing with the amount the possessor had as a basis before the war; but the startling fact that the people are in ignorance of is this: that one-eighth of the total taxable income from all of the toil and ingenuity going into all of the productive processes of the country at the present time *goes to six one-thousandths of one per cent of the whole people.* Their number is 6,664. Their combined income in 1917 was $1,709,365,988. Seventy per cent of this, or over $1,250,000,000, came from property. Their proportion of the total income has, on the face of later, but as yet unofficial, figures, greatly increased.

If Mr. Felix Warburg is right when he says that the man who is richer today than he was before the war is a profiteer, then, according to Mr. Lauck's figures, virtually every person holding stock in corporations is a profiteer for

> The combined corporations of the country earned in net profits approximately $4,800,000,000 more per year during the three war years, 1916-17-18, than during the three pre-war years period; and this excess of profits over and above what the same corporations were satisfied with during the pre-war years constituted during 1916-17-18 a profiteering tax of $240 per year per family of five throughout the nation.

Furthermore, a review of the Lauck evidence shows the following significant facts: In two industries alone, namely, iron and steel and coal, two billions of dollars of net profit in excess of the pre-war average were exacted during the three war years, constituting virtually a levy of $20.00 upon every man, woman, and child in the United States. Two thousand and thirty corporations earned in net profits over 100 per cent per year on their capital stock during the three war years, that 5,724 showed net profits of more than 50 per cent and that 20,000 earned from 20 to 50 per cent. The average profits during the three war years of all the corporations in the United States with net incomes of $1,000,000 or more approximated 24 per cent on their capital stock, which increased profits means that this great group of corporations controlling products essential to daily life made profits sufficient to replace the entire value of their capital stock within a period of slightly over four years.

For the four years, 1916-17-18-19, corporate profits, not inclusive of royalties, rents, excessive salaries, stock dividends, or any other form of compensation, cost each family of five throughout the United States a total of $1,500. (This is on the basis of 22,000,000 families. During this same period the average income of these families totaled for the four years less than $7,300, so that the toll exacted as profits by corporations consumes more than one-fifth of the family income. This is a conservative estimate. More likely the number of families in the country is under 21,000,000 and the proportion of prices going to profits twenty per cent higher than available figures indicate. Experts figure that one-fourth of the income of each American worker is taken from him in the shape of corporate profits).

Since the armistice the only change has been an abatement in the gigantic sums accruing to corporations which monopolized the military requirements of the nation at war, such as iron and steel, coal, copper, metal products, and meats; but since the cessation of the demand for strictly war supplies, industries engaged in the production of clothing, food, household supplies and other staple necessaries of life have exploited the public to an extent even greater than during the years 1916-17-18; the added toll of profiteering in absolute necessities since the armistice has amounted to at least twenty per cent in those industries for which figures are now available; first hand evidence of profiteering is accentuated by the huge undivided profits now flowing out to

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the wealthy in surplus stock dividends following the recent Supreme Court decision, indicating that profiteering already revealed is only a fraction of its real extent, since profits were held in reserve for a favorable moment of distribution.

The above disclosures do not reveal completely the extent of profiteering, since corporations have been, and are, utilizing various devices to conceal the full measure of their earnings, such as excessive deductions for depletion and depreciation, payment of astoundingly excessive salaries and grossly fictitious royalties and rents. Instead of labor costs being the initial influence in forcing increases in the cost of living, wage increases have lagged behind price increases; prices have been pushed up by factors over which the workers had no control; labor as a class is now worse off than it was before the war; in the distribution of the income of the country labor is receiving a smaller proportion than it did before the war, while capital, in the form of profits, interest, and rent, is receiving a very much larger proportion.

The alibi for labor against the charge of profiteering is really the evidence that completes the case against capital. If it could be shown that the compensation to labor advanced in ratio with the return to capital there would be no case against capital at all. But Mr. Lauck proves that as the ratio of profits in prices went up the ratio of wages in prices went down and his figures render impossible any doubt of his statement that the rich are richer and the poor poorer, and, it might be added in logic, that if the situation obtaining in 1916-17-18-19 were to continue until 1926, the workers would be in debt to the corporations for the privilege of producing profits for them.

Turning to any of the subdivisions, by industries, of Mr. Lauck's voluminous compilation, one is both surprised and impressed with the divergence between the percentages of prices accruing to capital and labor. Take shoes. In 1914 profits absorbed nearly one-half of the price paid by the consumer for a pair of shoes. That was nearly three times the total labor costs. In 1917 profits amounted to three-fifths of the total price and over five times the total labor costs. Stated in another way, in 1914 all the labor from the hide to the finished shoe absorbed less than one-sixth of the price paid by the consumer. In 1917 the share of the price going to all the labor from the hide to the finished shoe was precisely one-ninth. Carrying the story down to the bankroll one's wife takes to the shoe store, Mr. Lauck proves that "of the $3.50 increase in the price of a pair of standard shoes labor receives fifteen cents, while the profit margins of the various manufacturers and merchants absorb $2.75." And when the writer demurred in a store in Portland, Oregon, against paying $19.75 for a pair of shoes that are now dead and buried he was told that "labor is costing more today than it ever has in the history of the industry." And on the record the collared gentleman was telling the truth.

A conspicuous example of the excessive burdens imposed upon the consumer through the artificial stimulation of prices is furnished by sugar. Mr. Hoover succeeded in keeping down the price of sugar during the war but as soon as his control was withdrawn the soaring process began. In the words of the report:

> Sugar has advanced 14 cents a pound or 300 per cent over pre-war prices. During the same period there was an increase in the labor cost of producing a pound of sugar of 2 cents, or less than 15 per cent of the increased cost to the consumer and only about 18 per cent of the advance in the wholesale price of sugar over pre-war prices. . . . Had the producer and retailer been satisfied to take the same proportionate increase in their profit margins as labor received in its share, sugar could be sold to the consumer at 11½ cents per pound instead of 20 cents, a saving of 8½ cents a pound. . . . This 11½ cents per pound must be taken as a fair price for sugar. . . . The yearly consumption of sugar in the United States is about seven billion pounds. . . .

Then there are the packers.

> The average annual percentage of profit on capital stock received by the Big Five—that is, the Swift, Armour, Cudahy, Wilson, and Morris concerns—increased from 14.4 in the years 1912-14 to 36.9 in 1916-18. . . . The advance in the wholesale price of beef was over 12 times as great as the total labor cost of the products, while the advance in the retail price was over 14 times the entire cost of labor in the meat-packing industry. The cost of packing-house labor represented only about one-thirtieth of the retail price of beef in 1918. The wage increases given packing-house labor did not exceed an average of 50 to 75 per cent. An increase of 1,000 per cent in wages would not account for the tremendous increase in the price of meat over pre-war prices.

Mr. Lauck's compilations should take a place next to the Bible on the parlor table in every home. One may pick it up and, turning to any verse, be compensated for a few moments' diligent reading. Excerpts:

> The labor required to produce a ton of bituminous coal received an increase of 54 cents, the operators' price was increased by $1.13, and the retail price by $2.19, or more than four times the increase in the cost of labor necessary to produce the coal. . . .
>
> The income account of the Philadelphia and Reading Company may be taken as indicative of the actual increase in profit during the war years, for it is the only concern publishing accounts for the entire period, which markets its own coal. . . . The table shows:

Year	Net Income	Per cent on Capital stock	Net Income Per Ton
1912	$171,576	2.1	$0.017
1918	$4,150,162	51.9	$0.359

> The Standard Oil Company of Indiana took from the country during the pre-war years profits which averaged more than 1,000 per cent on the original capital stock, which represents the whole real investment. In those years the profits averaged over $10,000,000 per year. The percentage of profits to capital stock for the years 1916-18 was more than two and a half times as great, the earnings being approximately $26,000,000. Of course in the published reports it does not appear that this corporation earned so enormous a per cent on its capital stock. For in 1912 the capitalization was increased from $1,000,000 to $30,000,000 by a 2,900 per cent stock dividend.
>
> The tremendous increase in the price of steel in recent years cannot be explained by advances in wages, for these have been offset to a large extent by the saving in labor costs due to the introduction of improved machinery. Labor costs per unit of output actually decreased an average of 25 per cent between 1901 and 1910. In other words, the annual output per worker vastly increased. . . . At its organization in 1901 the United States Steel Corporation was over-capitalized to the extent of over $720,000,000. During the period 1901 to 1918 the corporation actually paid out in dividends on these fictitious securities the enormous amount of $693,535,595. . . . In other words, the right of the wage earners to share in the gain which resulted from their increased output was sacrificed in order that the over-capitalized steel companies might create a value in their fictitious securities.

Copper offers another example of patriotic profiteering. An analysis of the price of copper shows that "capital received more than two and one-half times as much per pound as labor."

And so runs Mr. Lauck's chronicle through the industries, from the sanctified Troy collar to the helpless tuna fish.

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Japanese Imperialism in Siberia

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

ON April 6, 1918, Russian newspapers carried first page headlines announcing the occupation of Vladivostok by a Japanese landing party. Two years later to a day, on April 6, 1920, American newspapers carried first page headlines reporting the seizure of Vladivostok by Japanese troops after a battle with the Russian forces in the city. These two events mark definite stages in the progress of Japanese imperialism in Siberia. The Japanese took possession of Vladivostok in 1918—alone. Now, after the departure of the Americans, they remain in possession of it—alone.

The Russian policy of America and the western Allies has been a series of blundering improvisations, dictated principally by fear of bolshevism and not based upon any adequate knowledge of Russian political, social, and geographical conditions. The Japanese policy, on the other hand, was ably characterized by Voznesensky, a Far Eastern expert in the service of the Soviet Government, as "systematic, logical, and merciless." The Japanese never cherished the dream that the Russian people would rise up to welcome armies of foreign deliverers. They never took the crusade against bolshevism very seriously. They never, even for a moment, thought of committing themselves to the enormous expenditure of blood and money which would have been necessary to destroy the Soviet Government. Instead they confined themselves to certain concrete and well defined territorial and economic objectives; and they pursued these objectives with consistent skill and tenacity.

The Japanese hunger for expansion in Siberia preceded the Bolshevist upheaval. The Japanese Government was quick to appreciate and to take advantage of the internal disorganization which followed the March Revolution. In June, 1917, according to a report to the provisional government, the Japanese were sending gendarmes secretly into Khabarovsk. In July, Viscount Motono, the Japanese Foreign Minister, complained to the Russian Ambassador in Tokio about a rumor that American capitalists had been granted concessions in the Siberian coastal region and in the island of Sakhalien. Motono intimated, in a distinctly truculent manner, that Japanese capital was entitled to prior consideration in this matter. In October, General Rozanov, the military commander of the Vladivostok district, reported to Foreign Minister Tereschenko that the Japanese were planning to provoke an uprising in the city in order to possess an excuse for intervention.

Shortly afterwards the Kerensky Government fell, and Soviet rule was established in Siberia. Under the pretext of combating bolshevism the Japanese were able to pursue their aggressive designs more openly. Their chief agent at this time was General Semenov, a Cossack brigand who carried on intermittent raids along the Russo-Chinese frontier. The following characteristic piece of Japanese propaganda in behalf of Semenov appeared in the *Peking and Tientzin Times*, the Japanese official journal in the English language in China:

> It must be admitted that at this particular time there is great danger if the Allies intervene in Siberia, since the Russian population will surely resist foreign interference. But this course is not at all necessary, since there is a good way to attain the same results through help given to that great Russian patriot, General Semenov, whose only aim is to free Russia from anarchy.

This was followed by suggestions that all the ammunition stored in Vladivostok be turned over to Semenov, and that his operations be financed by an inter-Allied loan. Notwithstanding all the moral and material aid which he received from Japan, Semenov was unable to make head even against the weak and poorly organized Siberian Soviet forces, and was driven back over the Chinese frontier with discouraging regularity. The Japanese soon realized that they would have to intervene more actively. They commenced to negotiate secretly but vigorously for a mandate from the Allies to enter Siberia. France and England were inclined to favor the project, but President Wilson stood out against it. The President's position is admirably stated in the following sentence from a memorandum presented to the Japanese Government early in 1919, but only made public in *The Nation* for February 21:

> The Central Powers could and would make it appear that Japan was doing in the East exactly what Germany is doing in the West, and so seek to counter the condemnation which all the world must pronounce against Germany's invasions of Russia, which she attempts to justify on the pretext of restoring order.

The Japanese statesmen, however, were not particularly impressed by arguments based upon international morality; and they were quite indifferent to the effect of intervention upon the sentiment of the Russian people towards the Allies. They were determined not to miss the excellent opportunity to fish in troubled waters afforded by the disorganized condition of Russia. On April 4 two Japanese were killed in a local riot in Vladivostok. Without giving the authorities any time to discover or capture the criminals the Japanese Admiral Kato landed a detachment of marines in the city on the following day. This action did not secure the cooperation of the Allies; and Ambassador Francis attempted to discount it as an unimportant affair of police jurisdiction. But it marked the beginning of Japanese rule in eastern Siberia. The forces which were landed on April 5 were never withdrawn.

Four months later, on August 3, the United States Government reversed its policy and agreed to participate with Japan in a Siberian expedition. In the light of subsequent events the statements issued on this occasion by the American and Japanese governments are both interesting and ironical. The American statement could scarcely stand the test of searching logical analysis. It flatly repudiates the principle of intervention in the following words:

> In the judgment of the Government of the United States—a judgment arrived at after repeated and very searching consideration of the whole situation—military intervention in Russia would be more likely to add to the present sad confusion there than to cure it, and would injure Russia, rather than help her out of her distress.

Then the statement goes on to envisage intervention on a fairly extensive scale in this famous passage:

> The Government of the United States has therefore proposed to the Government of Japan that each of the two governments send a force of a few thousand men to Vladivostok, with the

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purpose of cooperating as a single force in the occupation of Vladivostok and in safeguarding, as far as it may be, the country to the rear of the westward moving Czecho-Slovaks, and the Japanese Government has consented.

The Japanese statement, which follows the American very closely in general outline, is even more effusive in its protestations of goodwill. The harsh fact of military invasion of Russian soil is decorously covered with the following phrases:

In adopting this course the Japanese Government remain constant in their desire to promote relations of enduring friendship and they reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They further declare that, upon the realization of the objects above indicated, they will withdraw all Japanese troops from Russia, and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases, whether political or military.

The Czechs, for whose welfare these statements profess so much solicitude, were not directly benefited at all by the intervention. They were encouraged to continue their "westward movement" against the Soviet forces, while the American and Japanese troops remained in eastern Siberia. The Americans announced and maintained an attitude of strict neutrality in all local quarrels, and confined themselves to guarding the Trans-Siberian Railroad against the attacks of guerrilla bands.

The Japanese pursued a much more sinister and aggressive policy. They cooperated with the Kolchak officials and with the more or less independent bandits, Kalmikov and Semenov, in repressing every movement of popular discontent. Together with their allies they often acted with the utmost ferocity. Siberian papers published during 1919 report the frequent destruction of whole villages by Japanese artillery and the habitual taking and shooting of hostages, including women, in reprisal for the conduct of the insurgent peasants. The Japanese also flooded the country with commodities of their own manufacture, for which they charged exorbitant prices, and speculated profitably in the fluctuating ruble exchange.

Japan's attitude toward the Omsk Government was somewhat ambiguous. Kolchak's partisans in this country insist that Japanese intrigues materially hampered him; and it is certainly true that Japan was hostile to the idea of a strong united Russia under any form of government. On the other hand Kolchak accepted, if he did not invite, Japanese aid against the insurgents of eastern Siberia; and Japan took advantage of the weakness of his position to extort a number of commercial concessions. Recognition of these concessions was one of the demands presented by the Japanese Government in its recent negotiations.

With the end of the war the excuse of protecting the Czecho-Slovaks lost what little plausibility it originally possessed. In fact these troops, tired of being sacrificed in a Russian internal quarrel, refused to fight for Kolchak and insistently demanded repatriation. Japan commenced to change her diplomatic phraseology. She now discovered "special interests" in Siberia, which must be protected at the cost of everything, including her promise to evacuate Russian territory as soon as the specified objects of her intervention were achieved. The Tokio *Kokuman Shumbun* of February 12, 1919, contains the following suggestion for turning the League of Nations to practical account:

We sincerely hope that our Government will propose a plan of international control over Russia, at the Conference of Versailles, which shall consist in giving America control over European Russia up to the Urals, while over Siberia the control shall be in our hands.

The Versailles Conference has decided to turn the control over the former German colonies to the League of Nations, and give the actual control over them to the members of the League. Why not have an identical control over Russia?

Deprived of the support of the Czecho-Slovaks and left to its own resources by the Allies, Admiral Kolchak's Government went to pieces very speedily during the summer and fall of 1919. The Red army occupied Siberia up to Irkutsk. After the downfall of Kolchak, soviets were set up in the cities of eastern Siberia. At this time, very opportunely from the Japanese standpoint, the American troops were entirely withdrawn from Vladivostok. Japan was now free to deal with the situation with regard for possible international complications. Her imperialistic policy demanded speedy and drastic action. Her former tools, Horvath, Semenov, and Kalmikov, had fallen beyond any hope of restoration. The Japanese struck hard and quickly, before local defense could be organized and before help could arrive from Moscow.

The Japanese soon captured the triangle of important railroad towns, Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, and Nikolsk. There have been reports of sporadic activity on the part of Semenov's forces in the Trans-Baikal region. There is nothing to show, however, that the Japanese are trying to establish a military frontier against Soviet Russia as far west as Lake Baikal. On the contrary, the creation of an autonomous state of eastern Siberia is announced; and communications are received from its Foreign Minister, Mr. Krasnoschokhov, who was president of the Far Eastern Soviet before the Allied intervention. Indications are that this state, like Esthonia, may serve as a buffer between Bolshevik Russia and the outside world. Its form of government will certainly be radically democratic; but it may be respectable enough to receive immediate foreign recognition. It seems, unlikely, however, that this state will be able to regain control of its port, Vladivostok. This city, "the gateway of the East," is now practically a part of Japan's steadily growing Asiatic Empire.

This final expression of Japanese imperialism in Siberia should prove somewhat disconcerting to those Americans who believed that Japanese intervention would help to win the war and promote international law and order. It has always been easy to persuade Japan to enter a profitable field of exploitation; to induce her to leave is a different matter. The Japanese occupation of Vladivostok may not cause immediate friction with America. But serious difficulties are almost certain to develop in the future, when American business men discover that they have been completely shut out of the rich Siberian market by the Japanese possession of the port. Then a situation may be created which will baffle the powers of conciliation even of that august body, the League of Nations.

Reports of
The Republican Convention
by Oswald Garrison Villard
The A. F. of L. Convention
by Arthur Gleason
will appear in *The Nation* of June 19th

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Underground Ireland

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

Dublin, May 13

AN English friend was kind enough to assure me before I came to Ireland that unless I made my peace with Dublin Castle I would not be allowed to travel far or to see much; while if by chance I were to wander far from Dublin, or were to express outside of Ulster, opinions unfavorable to Sinn Fein, I was quite likely to be shot. Of neither fate, so far as I am aware, was I at any moment in the slightest danger. No special permission of any kind is necessary to visit Ireland, and opposition to Sinn Fein may be voiced as safely in Connaught as in Ulster. Of British rule in Ireland I shall have something to say presently. Thanks to letters of introduction from America, and in no small measure to the reputation of *The Nation* as the staunch friend of Irish freedom, it proved easy to make the acquaintance of Sinn Fein; at the same time, in doing so, I had an interesting object-lesson in the methods of that organization and in the life which some of its members are compelled to lead.

One of my letters was addressed to Mr. Arthur Griffith, M. P., one of the principal founders of Sinn Fein, now second in authority to Mr. De Valera, and editor of *Young Ireland*, the only Sinn Fein paper which is allowed to be published. Rightly fearing that the letter, if sent by post or even by unvouched-for messenger, would find its way to Dublin Castle, I hired a cab and set out to deliver it in person. The building to which it was addressed was closed, and the door evidenced recent encounters with an axe. A small boy suggested that I call at the Sinn Fein Bank, around the corner. The "bank" turned out to be a tumbled-down building with the legend "Sinn Fein Bank" daubed roughly on the broken door, and its sole occupant an old woman who "swore to God" that she had lived there only a week and had never heard of Mr. Griffith. As I came out, wondering how next to proceed, a young man with a bicycle accosted me, asked my errand, and offered to deliver the letter. I hesitated, and looked inquiringly at the cab driver. "It's all right," said the cabby, "he's a true liberal, he is." Without further questioning I turned over the letter, and the young man disappeared. I spent the next hour speculating as to whether or not I had made the worst possible blunder, and "queered" my inquiry for good and all. But at the hotel I found a note from Mr. Griffith placing himself at my disposal, and presently received a call from one of the most important officials of Sinn Fein, who had himself brought the note. Thereafter the doors of Sinn Fein, in Dublin and throughout Ireland, were open. Incidentally, I had tested the workings of the secret system of communication which Sinn Fein has developed, and which the authorities at Dublin Castle, with all their efforts, seem hopelessly unable to circumvent.

Yet the official in question was himself at the moment "on the run," as the Sinn Feiners say. He had served a term of imprisonment, during which he had gone on hunger strike; and he was now sleeping each night at a different place and was liable at any moment to be arrested and jailed. That he, and Mr. Griffith, and Professor MacNeill, and certain other Sinn Fein leaders who are officially "wanted" are nevertheless at large is due, apparently, in part to the indisposition of the Government to arrest them just at the moment when hunger strikes in England and Ireland are exciting public opinion in both countries, and when semi-official intimations of a change of policy toward Ireland are being given out, and in part to the reluctance of the police to make arrests unless a considerable force is at hand for the purpose. We had walked under the nose of a policeman that very evening, and nothing had happened. Yet the moral strength of the Sinn Fein movement, the firm hold which it has upon the conscience and the will of its followers, are not to be appreciated until one realizes the daily annoyance and distress which must be endured by those whose homes are broken up, whose husbands, brothers, or friends are in hiding or "on the run," and who must meet and work in secret or by subterfuge.

Secrecy and evasion, however, are the accompaniments of political revolution everywhere. What gives them special significance in Ireland is the perfection of their organization and the wide popular cooperation which they receive. There is not a daily Sinn Fein newspaper published in Ireland. All over the country, however, are to be found newspapers whose attitude toward Great Britain could not be more hostile, or whose chronicles of Sinn Fein doings could hardly be fuller, if they were actually Sinn Fein organs. No printer would dare print openly for Sinn Fein, yet Sinn Fein has no great difficulty in obtaining all the printing it needs for its political propaganda. Sinn Fein meetings of all sorts are under the ban, and scores of officers of the organization are in jail; yet the work goes steadily forward. Seventy-three Sinn Fein members of Parliament won in the last election, and the arrest of an official merely finds another ready to take his place, and still another waiting. Numerous municipal governments are in Sinn Fein hands, and on May 3 I heard the Dublin Corporation vote its recognition of the Irish Republic as the lawful government of Ireland. No member of Sinn Fein thinks of using either the telegraph, or the telephone, or the post for Sinn Fein business; yet a secret system of communication enables the organization to keep in close touch not only with all Ireland, but with England, France, and the United States. I was assured that the most secret arrest would be known in Dublin, along with the exact place of detention, within an hour either day or night. Throughout Sinn Fein Ireland, any person who is pursued or shadowed by the police may safely take refuge in almost any house or shop, with assurance that the occupants, whether members of Sinn Fein or not, will instantly and without question do anything in their power to shelter him or help him to escape. The movement has caught the children as well as their parents, and the boy or girl in the street is almost as dependable a guide as the average man or woman.

How numerous a body is Sinn Fein? What classes of persons support it? To what extent is it responsible for the violence whose record makes up for the larger part of the daily Irish news? Does it actually rule even though it does not govern? I have been asking these questions industriously of all kinds of people in all parts of Ireland. None of the Sinn Fein leaders with whom I have talked has cared to venture more than an estimate of the number of persons who may properly be denominated Sinn Feiners. The Sinn

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Fein clubs which abound outside of Ulster no doubt enrol a considerable proportion of the most active members of the organization, but they by no means comprise the total membership. Like political parties generally, Sinn Fein is made up of a comparatively small number of persons who hold the offices, do the work, and constitute the "organization," and of an indefinite but far larger following whose support varies all the way from open allegiance and active cooperation to friendly interest and general acquiescence. As a Dublin citizen said to me, "I am not a Sinn Feiner, but I will do all I can to help Sinn Fein." For all practical purposes, of course, one kind of allegiance is as useful as the other, and a conservative estimate must place the total number of Sinn Fein adherents at more than half the population of Ireland. If political self-determination is an affair of majorities, Ireland is overwhelmingly Sinn Fein.

I was prepared to find that the majority of the people who support Sinn Fein were the young, the ignorant, the reckless, and the unattached. I have been repeatedly assured, not only in Ulster, but by the Unionists in the south and west, that few who had any "stake" in the country championed the movement. Such, I am convinced, is not the case. Doubtless it is true, as a representative of the movement at Cork pointed out, that active identification with a revolutionary movement is always in part a matter of age. Men or women past middle life, especially if they have an established business or profession or large property interests, are as a rule less eager than younger or less settled persons to throw themselves into an undertaking which challenges the existing order of government and is attended with no small personal hazard. The number of persons in Ireland, however, properly to be classed as intellectuals, who support Sinn Fein and are even actively identified with it is impressive. Broadly speaking, a majority of the lawyers, the doctors, the teachers, the Catholic clergy, and professional and business men generally are either avowed Sinn Feiners or give Sinn Fein their active support. The important movement which, in recent years, has worked for the development of an Irish culture through the cultivation of the Irish language, Irish literature, Irish history, Irish drama, and Irish art, and of which the animating agency has been the Gaelic League (now, in the wisdom of the British Government, suppressed), is as a whole solidly back of Sinn Fein, affording to the political agitation an intellectual basis whose significance is often overlooked. It is idle to say that Sinn Fein is the work of a few, or that only the irresponsible rabble follows its lead. It is a popular movement, general in its following, solid in its hold upon men and women who think, as well as upon those who feel and believe.

This is the situation with which, outside of Ulster, the British Government is confronted. There is no important dissent from Sinn Fein rule. The traveler who chats with the guests at the Shelbourne Hotel in Dublin, or who is put up at one of the fashionable clubs, or who is honored with an invitation to dinner at the Viceregal Lodge, will hear plenty of Unionist talk, and may easily gather the impression that Sinn Fein is only an intense and vivid flash in the pan, exceedingly troublesome to endure or to deal with while it lasts, but certain to give way in time before British might. All I can say is that those who cherish such notions have no real knowledge of Ireland or of Sinn Fein. The Unionist residents of Sinn Fein Ireland lead a lonely life. They have no vital contact with the men and women who are determining the course of Irish history. The only intellectual activity worthy of the name is inseparably associated with the things for which Sinn Fein stands. The universities, the professions, and the business world are overwhelmingly Sinn Fein. The only authority which is generally respected is the authority of Sinn Fein; the only political or social ideals which appeal to any considerable number of intelligent people are those to which Sinn Fein is committed, and for which it works ceaselessly day and night. It would be easy to add another volume to the many which have been written about contemporary Ireland. The natural beauties of the country, the mingled picturesqueness and squalor of its rural life, the hearty cordiality of its people, its complicated problems of land tenure, industrial development, and immigration, and the relation of Ireland to the whole broad problem of the future of the British Empire, afford abundant material for the chronicler. But the book would tell but a small part of the story if it did not recognize, as the one overshadowing issue of Irish life today, the passion for liberty which the people feel and which Sinn Fein has organized with rare perfectness.

In the Driftway

GENERALLY speaking, the Drifter is not much interested in straw votes, for the reason that they are taken on straw men—the senior with the blackest mustache, the local league's best base-runner, or the next President. In the large economy of drifting these personages are the transitoriest of puppets, needles that already are working themselves into the vast strawstack of history, never to be found or felt again. The Drifter's eye is open on a larger world than a college campus, a proud metropolis, or a self-sufficient commonwealth. His curiosity calls for huger satisfaction. Where is the wide earth's blackest mustache—and how black it is? Who is the fleetest fellow under forty beneath the sun—and does he play baseball? Who is the outstanding member of mankind—and what is his job? The Drifter undertakes to answer none of these queries; but he would pose a candidate under the third head.

* * * * *

WHO stands out above—or shall it be said beyond—all other men? Charlie Chaplin. If the complete race could assemble some night on the plains of Texas to shout its recognition when faces and figures appeared on a ten-mile screen, whose face and figure would strain the most millions of throats? Charlie Chaplin's. Poets stand or fall by their native tongues, statesmen and prophets come by hemispheres; Charlie goes everywhere, and is understood. The Drifter does not doubt that long ago he soft-shoed an entrance into the Belgian Congo. He is known to have cracked a million Chinese cheeks. And the Drifter can swear that he saw him one winter in Oxford and Cambridge. In that home of lost causes he boxed a round—and won. Within hearing of Spenser's and Milton's and Wordsworth's ghosts he bricked a citizen senseless for bothering him with verses. And it was not wholly of farmers from surrounding shire or fen that the audiences those evenings were composed; some black capes made the theaters blacker; throats of dons deepened the general chuckle. The Drifter would say that Charlie had not much further to go in his campaign for and against this globe.

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Correspondence

The Up-to-Date Encyclopedia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Hourwich's letter with regard to Nelson's Encyclopedia reminds me that about two weeks ago when I was putting it together I discovered—just in passing—that Bertrand Russell was not mentioned at all, and that the paragraph describing the Spartacus Party contained the following sentence:

"Emerging from prison his [Liebknecht's] overtures to the delegates of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council, then controlling Berlin, were rejected, whereupon he associated himself with the anarchist, Rosa Luxemburg, a Russian-Polish Jewess who had married a Dresden physician (leaving him the next day) merely to acquire German citizenship."

Impartiality and clear English, whence have ye fled?

Madison, Wisconsin, May 27 E. GLUCK

Book Titles Here and There

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A person trained in the retail book business could not help catching the comment of F. H. H. in your issue of May 15 on "Literary Aliases."

While not speaking as an American publisher, I have had some twenty-five years of experience in handling his product, and I doubt very much whether our American houses deserve such caustic comment on their treatment of English books that are reprinted in this country. The instance taken is that of Philip Gibbs's book, issued here under the title of "Now It Can Be Told" and in England as "The Realities of War." The correspondent does not think that there could be any possible doubt as to which was the better title. In the book trade, the Harper selection of the former was considered a decided gain over the English title. Mr. Gibbs, himself, approved it heartily by letter.

While few books have their titles changed in going from one country to the other, there does not seem to be any doubt that there may be occasional chances to improve, and in such cases the publishers would improperly represent their English authors if they did not make suggestions that they deemed would be helpful. The same would be true of English publishers toward American books. There seems to be a tendency in this country for snap judgments that American publishers are below the standards of European countries. I doubt very much whether such opinions would be justified by any trade standards.

New York, May 25 FREDERIC G. MELCHER

Federate the "Third" Parties

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In regard to my letter in a recent issue of *The Nation*, why could not a federation be formed of the several parties and factions now striving to fill the need of a new national political organization in the United States? As I understand it, the British Labor Party is in reality a federation of groups and parties, though that seems rather to aid than to prevent its doing good work. If we have any common sense left, why cannot we use it, or have we Americans lost all the virtues and held fast to only the vices of our Anglo-Celtic ancestors?

What, especially in these days when the Declaration of Independence has become a "seditious" document and the Constitution a "scrap of paper," is there to prevent a federation of the Socialist Party, the Labor Party, the Committee of Forty-Eight, and the National Nonpartisan League for the purpose of electing the next President and controlling a large minority, if not a majority, of the next Congress? I see nothing which could. Consider this, that no Republican candidate for President, no matter how "liberal" he is heralded to be, can expect to split the "Solid (Ivory) South," while on the other hand a new radical-liberal party would have every chance to perform this miracle. Why should Northerners, wanting a real change, hang on to past party traditions and expect Southerners, having the same hope of change, to go over from the camp of the Bourbons to the tents of the Junkers? In other words: *Why not meet and get together?*

New Orleans, Louisiana, May 27 COVINGTON HALL

Century-Old Stuff

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Lest Attorney General Palmer be thought original, I call attention to the following sentences, which appear in the "Life of Francis Place," by Graham Wallas, chapter 5. They refer to the conduct of a British cabinet in 1817. Professor Wallas quotes from Place's own account.

"The Government and their organs in the press at once set themselves deliberately to excite public terror. 'The ministerial newspapers were *indefatigable in magnifying* every movement into treason and sedition. All the talent, all the acrimony, all the malignity and falsehood which the most venal and corrupt and base amongst the basest of mankind—as some of the fellows connected with the newspapers are—had their full swing against the reformers. Every loyal slave, everyone whose situation in corporations was gainful, or who expected to gain, was active in his way.'

"'The Castlereagh administration . . . in time of peace adopted the means' which Pitt 'had used in time of war. They took advantage of the general distress and partial discontent of the people, and employed spies to excite tumults, to foment sedition, and to produce treason. . . . Every plot, real or imaginary, every movement of the populace which could be instigated, every paltry penny publication (some of which were their own) which could be made to talk seditiously, as the nonsense they contained was called, were magnified into serious, seditious, outrageous tumults, horrid and widely extended treasons, shaking the very foundations of the Government and threatening its overthrow.

"'Any administration which is base enough may in times of severe distress have as many plots and conspiracies as it pleases. . . .'"

According to Federal Judge Anderson, the Government "owns and operates a part, at least, of the Communist Party." Mr. Palmer, judging by the above, has still a little way to go before he reaches maximum efficiency.

Philadelphia, May 6 I. S. C.

Remember the Living

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A strong movement has been launched for the purpose of setting up war memorials of various forms in the colleges of the country through private contributions. It would seem well for university authorities to consider carefully before venturing on such undertakings. In view of the suffering in Europe and the Near East, the erection of these memorials, entailing heavy expenditure, would seem decidedly out of place. The situation across the Atlantic must be relieved and at once, while this other matter might just as well be postponed for a number of years.

Lincoln, Nebraska, May 28 DAVID H. WEBSTER

Mr. Palmer As Alien Property Custodian
in next week's issue of *The Nation*

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Trees Need Not Walk the Earth

By DAVID ROSENTHAL

TREES need not walk the earth
For beauty or for bread;
Beauty will come to them
Where they stand.
Here among the children of the sap
Is no pride of ancestry:
A birch may wear no less the morning
Than an oak.
Here are no heirlooms
Save those of loveliness,
In which each tree
Is kingly in its heritage of grace.
Here is but beauty's wisdom
In which all trees are wise.
Trees need not walk the earth
For beauty or for bread;
Beauty will come to them
In the rainbow—
The sunlight—
And the lilac-haunted rain;
And bread will come to them
As beauty came:
In the rainbow—
In the sunlight—
In the rain.

Books

British Trade-Unionism and Ours

History of Trade-Unionism. Revised Edition. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green and Company.

TO their classic history of trade-unionism in England, originally published in 1894, the Webbs have added a section on the last thirty years. These 345 pages make up nearly half the volume, and add virtually a new book to the old matter. The period which they cover includes the renaissance of the "new unionism," the growth and solidification of such important bodies as the Transport Workers' Federation, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen, the "Triple Alliance" of these three, the unions of government employees, "black-coated" workers, and women, the British Labor Party, the National Guilds and nationalization movements—in short, the most fertile developments of the strongest labor movement in the world. A "new edition" of this sort, by such authorities as the Webbs, should not escape the attention of anyone interested in the order now painfully coming to birth.

Americans particularly will find this study of value, because the British labor movement is more like our own than that of any other country, and its differences from ours are consequently more significant. In comparative numerical strength, in internal organization, and in conscious philosophy, the American unions now stand somewhere near the point where British labor stood about the beginning of this thirty-year period. Our development is now proceeding at a far more rapid pace than that which the British assumed, and it is by no means certain that we shall reach precisely the same goal, yet many of the same forces are at work. We find, in the first place, the decreasing relative importance in union councils of the crafts first organized, such as the building trades and typographical unions, and the rise of the miners, railwaymen, and the unskilled and semi-skilled in the great machine industries. We find the same struggle toward amalgamation and federation for industrial and inter-industrial pressure. The Webbs's account of the trend toward independent political action as a companion to economic action, of the growth of the cooperatives, of the winning of a secure legal status for unionism, of the "rank and file" movement with its shop stewards and "outlaw" strikes, of the increasing demand for the elimination of profit-taking from industry, will suggest many American parallels. Particularly germane is the discussion of the Miners' campaign for nationalization, the last railway strike, and the resulting need for a "General Staff" of labor.

The few pages at the end which deal with the problems, under a profitless system of production, of delimiting the authority of producers as distinguished from that of consumers or the community as a whole, show that the Webbs still lean far toward the collectivist theory as opposed to that of the syndicalists, though they have been influenced by the Guilds movement. Their reasons are based upon the tendency toward corporate exclusiveness in associations of producers, and upon the technical difficulties of administration involved in the wholly "self-governing workshop." We are promised that such matters of policy will be treated at greater length in a forthcoming volume.

At least two significant differences between the labor movements of England and America are apparent. In discussing the Trades Union Congress—the British counterpart of the American Federation of Labor—the authors, remarking upon its weakness as a body to furnish real government for the unions, refer to its lack of authority in deciding disputes about jurisdiction, or "demarcation," as the English call it. They apparently believe that disciplinary powers should be lodged with the Congress. If the Webbs should study the results of such power in the hands of the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council, they would discover strong reasons for revising this judgment. Jurisdictional disputes are indeed unfortunate and troublesome, but to give a superior body authority over them does not remove them, but rather tends to destroy the larger unity of the labor movement. When a great and growing union can be expelled from the national movement because it does not accept the judgment of the Executive Council about jurisdiction, a dangerous factionalism is introduced, and a reactionary administration is enabled by indirection to remove progressive or radical bodies from the ranks of "recognized" labor, so that they can be fought and if possible destroyed as "outlaws." To allow jurisdictional disputes to run until they are settled by the parties immediately concerned may be better policy than to impose upon the whole labor movement a "strong" government with large powers of "discipline."

The other difference also has to do with labor solidarity, but its incidence is upon the mistakes of the radicals rather than upon those of the conservatives. When, ten years ago, Tom Mann, John Burns, and others brought the syndicalist ferment into the British labor movement, they did not try to form competing unions, but worked within the existing bodies, stimulating the new ideas of tactics and structure by criticism from inside. In America, on the contrary, the syndicalists founded competing industrial unions, which for years drew out of the old movement much of its best blood, without at the same time establishing their own strength. The present superior vitality and power of British labor is attributed by a growing group of American trade-unionists to this divergence in policy. A significant movement is beginning on this side of the water to "stop the leakage" of aggressive workers to competing revolutionary bodies, and rather to transform the old unions by infinitely patient, constructive effort and a dogged refusal to be driven out. In the exercise of such tactics, British labor statesmanship has much to teach us.

GEORGE SOULE

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A Slice of Death

A Short History of the Great War. By A. F. Pollard. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

GILBERT MURRAY has speculated on how Thucydides would have treated the Great War, namely, as a moral retribution on Germany's *hybris*. Herodotus would have focused the elements in an epic light, as the struggle of two civilizations. An English Livy might well have seen in it an episode in the mighty advance of the *fortuna populi Britannici*. To Gibbon the Rise and Fall of the German Empire would have seemed one of the supreme ironies of history. How would not Michelet have agonized in the passion, and have gloried in the resurrection of his beloved France! The latest, and best, historian that the Great War has yet found recalls among the classics Caesar's Commentaries more than any other; but of course his real affinities are among the proficients of the contemporary school. Recent historiography, like the recent novel, claims not to combine facts on any principle of artistic unity, but to narrate them just as they happened; to give, in short, a slice of life; in the present case one might rather call it a slice of death.

Professor Pollard has done all that can be done at present to set forth the course of military history. In contrast with some other writers on the subject, he has succeeded in being more historical than hysterical. Having mastered the sources, as far as they are available, he presents his conclusions with admirable impartiality. While refusing to be carried away with enthusiasm or *Schwärmerei* of any sort, he is not blind to the noble ideals that were held up before the peoples and which, more than anything else, and in spite of all that can be said to the contrary, animated them to put forth such a world of effort and to endure such a hell of pain. Naturally, the author sees the war more as a duel between Germany and England than perhaps it really was. He is something less than fair to England's allies. Russia, he thinks, failed to pass the test; France was inclined to shirk her share of bloodshed; Italy played a subordinate part. He pays adequate tribute to the American effort, and expresses unstinted admiration for German resourcefulness and determination. But he shows that it was England that "surpassed her own and all other records." In addition to the almost unchallenged might of her fleet, she put into the field a larger army than any of the Allies, and bore the heaviest financial burden. The record of the British people shines all the brighter in his pages in that he has little to say for any single leader. Lloyd George is severely handled, and all the generals and admirals praised in the very faintest tones.

Like Alexander, the peoples love to dwell on their own exploits: "thrice they fight their battles o'er, and thrice they slay the slain." If they must do so, they cannot find a better Timotheus than Professor Pollard. But his book is conclusive proof that the true history of the war will not be written in this generation. The brilliance of his style may polish up newspaper reports and official communiqués, but even his industry and acumen cannot fathom archives as yet unpublished. Though his history is almost purely military, one of the main factors in strategy continually escapes him. He can tell the plans of campaigns, but he cannot, usually or accurately, gauge the numbers involved. Moreover, he does not even try to tell much of the war but the smaller part that was enacted in the trenches and on the battlefield. Diplomacy is lightly touched upon; finances, domestic politics of the nations, the resources of the respective belligerents, the psychological reactions, are passed over in silence. What we want now to know is not so much how the war was fought, as what it meant for civilization. What is the political significance of the fall of Germany, of the rise of new states, and of the aggrandizement of the British Empire? What are the economic effects of the destruction of Europe's wealth? What are the eugenic consequences of the slaughter of her manhood? These and many other questions that could be asked lie shrouded in mystery. And yet the answers to such problems will, for future generations, constitute the chief significance of the Great War.

PRESERVED SMITH

The Secret of Joseph Conrad

The Rescue. A Romance of the Shallows. By Joseph Conrad. Doubleday, Page and Company.

IN the days when the early books of Joseph Conrad—"Almayer's Folly," "Tales of Unrest"—slowly drifted to this side of the Atlantic, there were aspiring sophomores in the land who began to find Stevenson's cheery stoicism thin and the note of his style a little shrill and self-conscious. Rigidly guarded from the life about them, these youths still demanded that the substance of literature be heroic and remote. But they had nibbled at Henry James and wanted psychology; they had read Pater's Essay on Style, which they preferred to Walter Raleigh's painful filigree, and they desired a rich and lustrous smoothness of texture. No wonder that they hugged the tales of Conrad to very superior bosoms and regarded sternly the profane vulgar who knew him not. They fought for their idol valiantly and long and well; they established his fame as a great writer; they made him almost popular and not to admire him the badge of a rude and unlettered mind. For years he nourished their pride in him richly. He wrote "Lord Jim" and "Typhoon," and that incomparable story "Youth." By that time criticism had fallen silent. No one remarked the strain and mannerism of the later books or the spiritual meagerness of the autobiographical writings.

"The Rescue" takes us back to the golden days. We have it from Mr. Conrad that he began the book twenty years ago. There is a "shore of refuge," a lost throne on the coast of Java, an heroic friendship in fatal conflict with an exalted and impassioned love. And, as of old, the figures in that remote and intricate and tragic action are dwarfed by the impassive splendor of Eastern heavens and the uncaring surges of the sea. Were it not for a deliberate gravity of speech and gesture which Mr. Conrad lends them, they would seem pitiful and grotesque manikins pretentiously busy about feeble nothings in the oppression of that cosmic atmosphere. Yet Mr. Conrad does not want us to feel the force of that ironic contrast alone. He is not tired of assuring us that to Tom Lingard and to Rajah Hassim the lost throne of a Javanese principality has an import and dignity unmatched by empires and that the significance of the story centers in that subjective fact. He demands a thrill of us at the great heart of man bent upon its proper business. "Promises made by a man of noble birth live as long as the speaker endures." Yet that thrill is lost under Mr. Conrad's imperturbable stars. The fine gesture becomes absurd and the brave words trivial. The action is never permitted to grip us but falters back into the overshadowing immensity. Its tempo helps to rob it of all pang and sting. It winds with the heavy sinuousness and slow glitter of a python. The passions are magnificent, the scene is superb, the style is gorgeous, and the story is dull. For no intellectual structure supports these robes of brocade from within. The tale is a frankly primitive one; it has no implications beyond itself; the pomp and circumstance end where they begin. The whole account, as of a remote and sultry Troy, reads like a faultless translation from some late-born Théophile Gautier fed on Henry James and Bertrand Russell's essay, "A Free Man's Worship."

Here, perhaps, we come upon the secret of Mr. Joseph Conrad. He sailed the Malayan seas with the vision of a French Parnassien. He saw the visible world magnificently but never naively. Jungles and seas, shores and *praus*, storms and sunsets were to him sights at once plastic and definite—gigantic *émaux et camées* to be perfectly chiselled on their immense

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scale and set into the texture of his stories. In the days of Almayer and Falk the little, dusty, terrible, and beautiful details of human life had not yet been wholly merged into that artificer's vision. They were seen and recorded for their own sake. In "The Rescue" actions and passions and the things that belong to human life are engulfed. It is not that the characters do not speak a great deal or that the descriptions are very many. But the human voices sound very far away; the exultations and agonies are muffled by a style that was wrought to render the "tranquil immensity of nature," that

Majestueux abîme où dort l'oubli sacré.

And this style itself, so soon as it shifts from seas and islands and from the vague impressiveness of certain virile moods, drops from its own nobler level—a blending of Gautier's prose and Leconte de Lisle's verse—to what an unfriendly mind might almost call a dash of Ohnet. Mr. Conrad, for example, attempts to tell us about Edith Travers. "As a young girl, often reproved for her romantic ideas, she had dreams where the sincerity of a great passion appeared like the ideal fulfilment and the only truth of life. Entering the world she discovered that ideal to be unattainable because the world is too prudent to be sincere." One can almost hear those sentences in French, the glib, knowing French of the minor novelist. We are asked to believe that Edith finds that sincerity of a great passion in King Tom of the Malayan seas. But there is no throb of any pulse. The velvety style deadens the beating of human hearts and the murmur of human voices and what one does remember is that "a trail of purple, such as a smear of blood on a blue shield, lay over the sea." And that image, too, has the hard definiteness of a mosaic and not the glow and change of a living world.

For all that, Mr. Conrad remains a writer who approaches greatness. In "The Rescue" there are prose harmonies as rich and plangent as in "Youth" itself. There are glimpses of men —Shaw, Travers, Jörgenson—that are sharp as etchings. His senses are marvellously active and acute and his ability to render their perceptions into language is superb. He fails, contrary to a common opinion, when he seeks to explain the operations of the mind or the character of the passions or when he reflects. His cosmic fatalism is no hard-won conviction, but a congenial mood which he himself can shatter by petty human irritations of his own. It was the mood of the Parnassiens too. To them the universe was a gorgeous spectacle to be described and to its blind indifference Leconte de Lisle dedicated many sonorous verses. And Mr. Conrad's prose, even like those verses—and how beautiful both are!—seems lonely enough today amid the great urgency of the world's affairs. For that beauty lacks closeness of thought and inner vitality. The colors in his pictures, like the colors of the early Italians, are made to endure. But what their patterns are designed to convey is like some quaint speculation of Sir Thomas Browne concerning Achilles among the women or what song the Sirens sang.

Books in Brief

IT seems invidious to speak in any tone of disparagement of a work of Mr. James Ford Rhodes, who has given us the classic interpretation of our history from the Compromise of 1850 to the close of the Reconstruction period. And yet competent judges must feel grieved that the "History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley" (Macmillan) is added, as an eighth volume, to the classic seven. It is as thin as the lean kine that followed the seven fat ones in Pharoah's dream. It is a collection of essays on various interesting topics covering the twenty years 1877-1897, bound together by a too obvious thread of narrative. For example, Chapter I (51 pages) is an account of the railroad strike of 1877; Chapter II (36 pages) is an essay on "Molly Maguires"; Chapter IV (18 pages) is a description of the Republican nominating convention of 1880. These essays are interesting, of course, as all that Mr. Rhodes writes is. But they are far from constituting a satisfactory history in which emphasis and space are duly proportioned to the significance of the event. Trivial details, which enlivened them as magazine articles, here crowd important events out of the text. Several pages are devoted to the trial of Garfield's assassin, but there is not a word about our controversy with Italy over the New Orleans lynchings, nor does the word Samoa occur in the index. The operation on Cleveland's jaw is described with a minuteness extending even to the exact time (1.14 p. m.) when ether was administered and (2.55 p. m.) when a hypodermic of one-sixth of a grain of morphine was given. The incident gets as many pages as the great Pullman strike of 1894. The uneven character of the book is all the more disappointing when one thinks how exceptionally fitted the author is to pass mature and accurate judgment on the men and events of the period, of which he could truly say *quorum ego pars magna*. It almost seems as though he had yielded to importunity to add another volume to his series, before the matter was ripe. There is a painful contrast between the finish of the earlier volumes and the assemblage of this one:

Amphora coepit
Institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?

BEN JONSON'S "Volpone, or The Fox" is such a patchwork or mosaic of material, originally collected in all probability in note-books like the still surviving "Discoveries" and from them fitted here and there into the play as opportunity afforded, that to a large degree Mr. John D. Rea's notes to his new edition (Yale University Press) are devoted to parallel passages from various classical and post-classical authors and from such books as "The Discovery of Witchcraft," Coryat's "Crudities," and Topsel's picturesque and extraordinary observations of the natural world. Allusions to current topics in London life, the fires at Berwick, the new star, the three "porcpisces" seen at London bridge, and so forth, are traced to their sources. But besides these multitudinous suggestions for various individual passages, there was one main source of Jonson's inspiration. Former commentators have suggested several passages from Lucian and Petronius; it has remained for Professor Rea to prove beyond doubt that the suggestion for the play as a whole came from Erasmus's "Praise of Folly." Jonson's prodigious memory and wide reading in the classical authors, which have become traditional in English literary history, are now seen to have been considerably exaggerated, for from Erasmus, and in less degree from other easily accessible writers, he borrows many of his more recondite allusions. More important than this conclusion is Mr. Rea's well-argued contention that the real theme of "Volpone" is not greed, but folly in general, greed being especially stressed in "The Praise of Folly" as the principal source of madness of all kinds. A long series of parallel passages establishes the fact that, notwithstanding Jonson's assertion in the Epistle Dedicatory that his satire is neither particular nor personal, Sir Pol is drawn closely after the character of Sir Henry Wotton, then a diplomat at Venice. In its lack of any purely aesthetic criticism the edition compares unfavorably with the two Massinger plays recently published at Princeton.

THE aim of Miss Ellen La Motte's "The Opium Monopoly" (Macmillan) is to reveal Great Britain as the sole agent of any consequence in the nefarious traffic in opium by which the drug, for the sake of the revenue it brings, is forced on nations too weak to resist. But in spite of Miss La Motte's very evident sincerity and earnestness she is not entirely successful. Undoubtedly the opium trade makes one of the most shameful pages in history. But Miss La Motte's little book might be taken more seriously if she were not at such pains to paint Great Britain black. It is idle to draw fine moral distinctions between the British Government which sells opium to the

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Japanese and the Japanese who smuggle it into China. Plainly in this case one is dependent upon the other. And a tenderness for the Japanese which leads to the statement that "there are no opium shops in Japan" is akin to rashness. There are innumerable tables and quotations for which authorities are most carefully given. But the tables do not always show what their author intended them to. For example, on page 48, in a table showing exports of India opium to eight different parts of the world over a period of five years, only two of the eight show any increase, while the total has decreased from 31,374 to 8,710 chests. This would seem to offer a gleam of hope. But Miss La Motte intends it far otherwise. Again, on page 50, the sources for the Indian revenue are given with the comment that "out of these eight classifications opium comes fourth on the list." True—but the opium revenue amounts to but three of a total of 118 million pounds; which might, very conceivably, be worse. The whole trade is bad enough in all conscience, however, and to have attacked it is to have done something useful.

Drama

Balance Sheet

THE conscientious dramatic critic in New York attends in the neighborhood of one hundred performances in the course of a season. Eighty, at least, are performances of original plays by American authors. These figures vary somewhat, but they represent the situation justly. During the season now drawing to a reluctant close one American play and one only, Eugene O'Neil's "Beyond the Horizon," rose above the level of theatrical trade-goods. This may seem a hard saying. Unhappily it represents the fact. What good can come to the American theater by attempting to gild the sentimentality and falseness of Booth Tarkington's "Clarence" or the empty pretentiousness of James Forbes's "The Famous Mrs. Fair"? We shall not better things until we see them as they are.

In good productions of plays not of American origin the season has been comparatively rich. It will be instructive to list these under their producing organizations. The Theater Guild stands first with John Masefield's "The Faithful," Tolstoy's "The Power of Darkness," St. John Ervine's "Jane Clegg," and Strindberg's "The Dance of Death." Next comes the Neighborhood Playhouse with Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler," Alan Monkhouse's "Mary Broome," and Andreev's "The Beautiful Sabine Women." To Mr. Arthur Hopkins we owe Gorky's "Night Lodging" and Shakespeare's "Richard III"; to Mr. John D. Williams, Brieux' "The Letter of the Law"; to Mr. William Harris, John Drinkwater's "Abraham Lincoln"; to the managers of the Greenwich Village Theater, Benavente's "The Passion Flower"; and to Mr. Maurice Browne, the "Medea" of Euripides. Mr. Williams also has to his credit the acceptance and production of "Beyond the Horizon." The Messrs. Shubert gave their support to the mellow and beautiful Shakespearean productions of Mr. Sothern and Miss Marlowe. Including these our list runs to precisely seventeen plays. That is to say, a civilized person not unduly fastidious could visit the theater seventeen times during this season. A severe and fastidious judge, offended by imperfections of casting, acting, light, color, mood, would undoubtedly limit the artistic productions of modern plays to three in the following order of merit: "Jane Clegg," "The Power of Darkness," "Night Lodging." The small group of classics, both Shakespeare and Euripides, was admirably well done. The professional critic who has to prove all things has, of course, memories of agreeable moments in absurd and ill-produced plays: Laurette Taylor in the first act of "A Night in Rome," Ina Claire in the second act of "The Gold Diggers," Pauline Lord in the ephemeral "Big Game," and Albert Bruning in an otherwise unedifying production of "Hedda Gabler." He has also, for his sins, the terrible though

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fading memory of such execrable slush as "Shavin's" and "The Storm" (both popular successes) multiplied many, many times. The intellectual, moral, and artistic character of these worst plays—let us say sixty of the one hundred—can be paralleled only in the backwaters of Victorian fiction once dominated by Bertha Clay, Charlotte M. Braeme, and Charles Garvice.

And so we turn once more—it cannot be done too often or too insistently—to some of the causes and possible remedies for this state of things. An independent producing manager, a man alive to the art of the modern theater, a scholar, an actor, and a practical man of the stage, has recently been investigating conditions in New York City in the hope of transferring his admirable activity here. He said: "The audience for good plays is here. There is no doubt about that. The plays are available—not only foreign plays but plays by American authors who are seeking production in vain. There is no lack of good actors or of good craftsmen of the theater. But our stage is ruled and ruined by real estate sharks. One of the very small metropolitan houses, with a seating capacity of about six hundred, was offered to me. But the rental demanded was $3,000 a week. I looked into the situation and discovered that $1,500 a week would pay the owner all operating expenses at the highest current rates and yield him a liberal interest on the capital invested. He, however, demands an additional weekly profit of $1,500. For a somewhat larger house the rental asked was $4,000 a week. Several years ago a very small and inconvenient theater in the upper forties was to be had for $15,000 a year. The figure named today is simply fantastic. The only theater in the city uncontrolled by this particular real estate trust is remote, and is so delapidated that the architect who went over it for me said it should be torn down.

That makes the situation clear enough. The needs of the artistic theater in America are not very intricate; its demands are not very exorbitant. It does not require actual subsidies. It merely asks not to be assaulted with a black-jack. If several modest theaters were acquired or built in New York by men or corporations who would content themselves with a reasonable profit on their investment, that alone would go far toward solving our problem. These investors would, of course, have to pledge themselves not to throw into the streets an artistic producing manager who was earning them six per cent in favor of a purveyor of melodrama or musical comedy who offered them anything between sixteen and sixty. To require such a pledge would be far from absurd. A very serious verbal contract for the rental of a theater was broken the other day at the very hour set for signing the papers. The owner or lessee simply said that he could get more money from someone else who had a more popular attraction to offer. Protest was useless. Business is business!

Why is it so hard to get help? The opera and the great symphony orchestras are subsidized as they should be. Rich men give beautiful museum buildings to cities that have never yet possessed or produced a tolerable statue or picture. And that, too, is fine and right. The theater, surely no less important as a factor in human civilization, asks a chance for its very life—at six per cent. Could anything be more touchingly modest or more truly reasonable? Nor let it be supposed that this is a plea for the unpractical or the eccentric. Commercial managers with decent ideals need protection from the real estate sharks quite as much as those who dream of an art theater of the Moscow or the Reinhardt type. Mr. Arthur Hopkins controls but a single house. His admirable activity could be extended if he could obtain others at rentals that are not ruinous. Mr. John D. Williams is quite homeless and quite at the mercy of the profiteers. There are other elements in the situation, which is, like everything else in the world, complicated in some aspects. It remains true that the fundamental need of the art of the theater in America is a chance to live by paying for that chance not more than six per cent.

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International Relations Section

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Party Divisions

GERMANY elects a new Reichstag on June fifth. The present National Assembly is a temporary body, elected in January, 1919, to draw up a Constitution, deal with the treaty, and establish a financial system for the republic. The new Reichstag is to hold office for four years, and will be elected by universal direct suffrage, men and women over 21 years of age voting on equal terms. Voting takes place by a system of proportional representation, the empire being divided into thirty-five districts.

There are 421 members of the present National Assembly, divided according to parties as follows:

German National People's Party	34
German People's Party	25
German Centrum Party	88
Democratic Party	82
Social Democratic Party	164
Independent Social Democratic Party	24
Guelphs	4

The German National People's Party is substantially identical with the pre-war Conservative Party, and the German People's Party with the old National Liberal Party. These two parties together form the Right, or conservative opposition, in the National Assembly. The German Centrum Party is the Catholic Party of long standing. The Democrats are the heirs of the old Progressive Party. The Social Democrats are the majority or Right Socialists. The Centrum, Democrats, and Social Democrats together form the Government bloc, or coalition. The Independent Socialists are the minority or Left Socialists, who form the radical opposition in the Assembly. The Guelphs are a small Hanoverian group.

Since the last election certain changes have taken place. There have been splits in the Centrum in Bavaria and in the Rhineland, elements opposed to the governmental policy of imperial centralization having formed separate federalist parties. The Nationalists in Bavaria distinguish themselves from their confreres of northern Germany by assuming the title "Middle Party." Many of the more conservative members of the Democratic Party have resigned and gone over to the German People's Party. Finally the Communists, who in January, 1918, refused to take part in the elections, are entering the present campaign. They too, however, have suffered a split, the extreme anti-parliamentarians forming a separate Communist Labor Party, which will not take part in the elections.

Only 383 members are voted for at this election. Thirty-eight members of the present National Assembly will sit temporarily in the new Reichstag until October. They are the members for the plebiscite districts of East Prussia, West Prussia, and Upper Silesia, and the representatives for Schleswig-Holstein. Of these 18 are Social Democrats, 8 Centrists, 8 Democrats, 2 Nationalists, and one each belong to the People's Party and a local Holstein league. In October elections will be held in such of these districts as remain to Germany.

It is generally assumed that the opposition parties, both Right and Left, will gain in the 1920 elections. The Independent Socialists especially have made heavy gains at the expense of the Social Democratic Party, largely because of the unpopularity of the former Minister of National Defense, Gustav Noske, a Social Democrat.

The Communists

THE Communist Party of Germany unanimously decided at its Berlin conference on April 15 to participate in the elections this year. The resolution, however, made clear that the party did not abandon its anti-parliamentary position:

> The Communist Party retains its previous view of parliament as an instrument for use in the political struggle. It knows that bourgeois society and the bourgeois state cannot be overcome by majority decisions or laws passed in parliament. It knows that the domination of the workmen's councils can be the result only of mass struggle outside of parliament. Parliament remains one of the subordinate means which the party utilizes to win the workers.

The Communists separate themselves sharply from the Independent Social Democrats, with whom they have hitherto worked in the Factory Councils in a quasi-alliance:

> We recall to supporters of the Independent Social Democratic Party what a danger the attitude of that party has been to the German revolution. We recall that it prevented the alliance of Germany with Soviet Russia, that it approved the early recruiting for the now discredited Baltic troops, that it aided in the disarming of the proletariat and so condemned it to its present weakness, that it retained the counter-revolutionary German bureaucracy in office, that it opposed the first great wage movements in which the German proletariat expressed its needs, and that it abandoned the mighty strike against the Kapp group early enough so that the adherents of Kapp and Lüttwitz were able to save themselves and will come back again. They cannot forget that it is the Independent Party which has hitherto kept the masses of the German proletariat from joining their Russian brothers, the heroes of the world revolution, in the Third Internationale, which has maintained the dangerous illusion that the proletariat could win socialism by parliamentary methods, and which is spreading the new illusion that it is "socialism" when a commission of bureaucrats decrees "socialization" and so weakening the strength and will of the proletariat.

Among the leading Communist candidates in Berlin are Clara Zetkin, Paul Levi, and Wilhelm Tieck.

The Communist Party is the outgrowth of the Spartacusbund in which Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were so prominent. Since October, 1919, its ranks have been divided; the Communist Labor Party, a more radical neo-syndicalist group, has split off. This group differs from the majority Communists in the following points, according to Boris Souvarine, a French Communist who visited Germany in March, and who writes in the *Journal du Peuple* (Paris) for March 28:

(1) It considers the role of Parliament as finished, judges

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the political revolution to be at an end, and the economic revolution to be the remaining task;

(2) It combats the centralization of the Communist organization and looks to a federation of autonomous local organizations;

(3) It rejects parliamentarism for Germany, considering that the country is in revolution, and admits its necessity only in other states;

(4) It proposes the formation of new labor organizations on an industrial rather than a trade basis, committed to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soviet system.

Within this Communist Labor Party is a group led by Lauffenberg of Hamburg, known as the "National Bolshevists" which preaches the arming of the German proletariat and resumption of the armed struggle with "Anglo-American imperialism and its French instrument." It is charged that this group, which is small, has negotiated with the extreme Nationalists for some sort of common program. In addition, various groups of anarchists and bandits have occasionally used the name "Communist" to cover their acts of terrorism.

The Independent Socialists

THE Independent Social Democratic Party—the left wing Socialists—declared in their electoral manifesto:

The dictatorship of capitalist militarism having caused the death of millions of men, salvation can come only from the political supremacy of the working class, from the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers who are the basis of industry should be the responsible basis of political and social institutions. That is the meaning of the system of workmen's councils.

The electoral program repeats the eight points which the party set as conditions for its proposed participation in a purely labor ministry such as was considered but not realized after the failure of the Kapp uprising:

1. Dissolution of counter-revolutionary military organizations, these to be replaced by troops recruited from the working class, with leaders who can be trusted politically;
2. End of the state of siege; amnesty;
3. Punishment of all individuals compromised with Kapp;
4. Socialization, beginning with the mines and electricity, extending to the steel and iron industries, transportation, etc.;
5. Socialization of the great landed properties and forests; increase of agricultural production;
6. Provision of food for the urban population; persecution of profiteers;
7. Development of social legislation; adjustment of wages and pensions to the present cost of living;
8. Friendly relations with all peoples; peace with Russia; execution of the Treaty of Versailles.

This program is more moderate than many of the recent expressions of the Independents, and is clearly a bid for support from the ranks of the Right Socialists. It is generally conceded that the Independents now control the majority of the Socialist workingmen. Among their leading candidates are Ernst Däumig, the leader of the Workmen's Councils movement in Germany, Louise Zietz, and Crispien.

The Social Democrats

THE Social Democratic Party, easily the largest party in the present National Assembly, and the dominant party in the coalition Government which has ruled Germany for the past year and a half, has taken a turn to the Left in its policy since the downfall of the Kapp regime. Gustav Noske, former Socialist Minister of National Defense, was forced to resign at that time, and the party has gained a new freedom of criticism.

At the party's national conference early in May, Philip Scheidemann made the keynote speech, in which he attacked Noske's policies. Succeeding speakers bitterly attacked the ex-minister, and he was not renominated for the Reichstag. Neither was Heine, the former Prussian Minister of the Interior, whose policy was considered too conservative.

Scheidemann, like the present premier, Hermann Müller, attacked the purely oppositional policy of the Independents, declaring *ohne Ledebour kein Lüttwitz* (but for Ledebour, the Independent, there would never have been the Kapp-Lüttwitz coup d'etat), denounced their refusal to enter a coalition, and defended the course of the Government.

What we have been able to accomplish is far less than we hoped. But I should like to see a government which could take over a country completely ruined by war, with a population which in its misery and suffering had simply lost its senses, and satisfy everyone. But . . . the Social Democrats have done much. But for them, no republic, no equal suffrage, no beginning of self-determination for workers in industry through the factory councils, no beginning of a socially just taxation system.

The tenor of the national conference clearly indicated a willingness either to continue the present coalition, or if the elections made it possible, to form a purely Socialist Government with the Independents. All the speakers, however, definitely opposed any policy of dictatorship and defended the principle of democracy. The electoral appeal of the party reads in part:

Only the union of hand and brain workers, of men and women, can preserve the free constitution of our state against reactionary attacks and transform political equality into social equality. The united will of the producers is sufficiently strong to win with the weapons of democracy and to free labor from the yoke of capital.

The Social Democratic Party takes as its electoral motto, unity, and hopes for a Social Democratic majority which will guarantee the continuance of the democratic people's republic and its transformation into a socialist republic. Desirous to fight only those who stand to the Right, it nevertheless defends its old principles of socialism and democracy against attacks from any side.

The stronger the Social Democratic Party, the easier it will be to free the republic from the last remnants of militarist spirit, to permeate the offices of the Government with a republican will, to increase the participation of the workers in the management and supervision of production, and to transform such industries as are ready for it into community enterprises, to develop a free school system, and raise the level of popular culture. . . .

The Democrats

THE electoral appeal of the German Democratic Party reads in part as follows:

By the basic work of our party the German people has given itself the noblest and freest constitution in the world as the foundation for the new evolution. Despite all attacks and all temptations, the integrity of the empire has been maintained, and the administration of the empire has been unified. The democratization of industry has prepared the way for a fellowship of all constructive forces in labor and for the overcoming of class conflict by justice and economic peace. The mad financ-

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ing of wartime has been set in order. The German Empire has been made once more worthy of credit and able to secure credit.

What the German people and German industry has gained in organization and reconstruction, against the destructive forces of the Left, is due to the work of the majority parties, not to the parties of the Right, which, by their continual demagogic opposition, weakened the authority of the Government, led astray and destroyed the good will of the people, and prepared the ground for the wanton deed of March 13, which cast us back into chaos after our hopeful and painfully established beginnings. . . .

Only the formation of a majority coalition upon a democratic basis can protect Germany from civil war and continue the work of construction. The purpose of the German Democratic Party in the coming elections is to strengthen its influence in such a majority. For the necessity of cooperation must not let us forget the profound differences which separate us from either of the other coalition parties.

In contrast to the Social Democrats we see the republic not as an instrument for the predominance of one class, but as the fundamentally and eternally class-free representation of the entire people with equal participation of all professions; not as an opportunity for permeation by one party of the entire administration, but as a determination of the political form of the Government, involving selection of the most capable specialists. The workers must receive no more and no less than their full social, political, and economic rights. We do not want and we will not tolerate any capitalist exploitation, but we do not wish any dictatorship or indirect control of the Government by any one class, however important. Our party stands and falls with the pure conception of democracy.

Economic elevation of the workers through wages or state subsidies is dependent upon the productivity of German industry. This productivity, however, rests upon the free development of individual capacity and of the spirit of initiative. In the interest of the economic existence of the entire people, we reject any economic system which bureaucratically hinders these essential forces. Industry can remain healthy only if personal ability, diligence, and special capacities, whether of workers or of employers, are rewarded by economic success and advancement.

In contrast to the Centrum, while we recognize freedom of religion and administration in the churches and religious communities, we insist upon the intellectual unity of our people in the schools and in culture so far as possible. This unity must not be further endangered by religious combats. Therefore we desire to come to an agreement with the churches which have so high a moral and religious value, in a peaceful and reconciliatory fashion. Especially we wish to preserve for all who live by it and long for it, and to make available for all, our eternal and imperishable culture, which is above sects and religions. We regard the school as an affair of the state; the state in the schools should fulfil the needs of the people as regards religious instruction. . . .

An energetic, expert foreign policy, trustworthy from a national and from an international point of view, a true league of nations which does not strangle Germany, but which, by restoring us to health and strength, and by a real peace with all peoples, will make it possible for us to fulfil our international obligations. Revision of the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. A mutually interdependent organization of the peoples. Maintenance and strengthening of German civilization wherever threatened, even outside the empire. . . .

Among the Democratic candidates are Dr. Dernburg, Count Bernstorff, Dr. Helene Bäumer, Professor Walter Schücking, the former ministers Hugo Preuss, Schiffer, and Gothein, and Friedrich von Siemens.

The former Democratic deputies Mugdan and Wiemer, and twenty-two other Berlin members of the party—aldermen, clergymen, and minor officials, together with several members of the National Assembly, left the Democratic Party for the more conservative German People's Party in May.

The Centrum

THE rather compromising revelations brought out during the Erzberger-Helfferich trial weakened the position of the former Minister of Finance as leader of the left wing of the Centrum Party, which has recently been dominant, and strengthened the conservative forces led by Herr Trimborn, a lawyer and deputy for Cologne. The coalition policy of the Centrum has been denounced by some of its members as "a surrender to the Social Democrats"; the conciliatory peace policy inaugurated by Erzberger in 1917 has also come in for sharp denunciation; and added to these conservative attacks has been the opposition of the federalists to the growing centralization of the government—an opposition which led to the secession of the Bavarian Centrum and its rechristening as the Bavarian People's Party. This secession, however, appears to be temporary, as does the formation of a "Christian People's Party" among the conservative Catholic elements in the Rhineland. This latter secession appears to have been a temporary disagreement, solved by the granting of substantial concessions to the conservative faction, and its assumption of leadership in the Rhineland Centrum. Much comment has been caused by the reported sale of the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, the leading Rhineland organ of the Centrum, to August Thyssen, the steel magnate.

Certain elements of the Centrum talk of a future coalition with the German People's Party. The electoral appeal, while defending the former policy of coalition with the Democrats and Social Democrats, is careful not to commit the party for the future:

The Centrum and the parties of the Right lacked fifty-eight votes of a majority in the National Assembly. The addition of the Democrats would have given a very small majority over the Socialist parties. But such a government, without the participation of the Majority Socialists, would have been impossible, from the point of view of foreign and of domestic policy. The active constructive cooperation of the working masses in the country and in the cities was necessary for the reestablishment of order. Only the participation of the 165 members of the Majority Socialist Party could guarantee such cooperation. Similarly the cooperation of the Democratic bourgeois groups was indispensable. A purely Socialist government would inevitably have meant the domination of the extreme Left. Only those who gambled upon a complete downfall could want that—an impossible risk for Germany. Neither Democrats nor Social Democrats would have entered a coalition without the Centrum. A coalition was necessary to save Germany; then, too, the consideration of our cultural interests forced us to enter the coalition. But coalition means concession, compromise upon a middle course of action. . . .

The bulk of the Centrum program is devoted to its traditional insistence upon Christian principles and the inseparability of state and church. Its statement regarding domestic policy is very general:

We condemn any attempt to overthrow the Weimar Constitution by force, whether it be made from the Right or from the Left. We reject any class domination. We demand a strong capable government. All valuable groups which earn-

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estly seek the reconstruction of the state upon a constitutional basis should be represented in its composition. A government by extremists would be the greatest misfortune that Germany could encounter; it would mean her downfall.

Despite lively opposition, Mathias Erzberger was renominated as a Centrum candidate in Württemberg.

The Parties of the Right

FUNDAMENTALLY there is little difference between the two parties of the Right—the German National People's Party and the German People's Party. Both are intensely national, bitterly anti-Semitic, and strongly anti-Socialist, but the former lays primary emphasis upon the necessity to maintain the capitalist system against all attempts at socialization. At the last elections, both accepted the republic in principle, but their opponents insisted that their republicanism was insincere. The Nationalist Party now openly admits its monarchism; the German People's Party still insists upon its republicanism. The two parties are very strong in the army, especially among the officers; they do not compete with each other, and both are certain to register marked increases in the new elections.

Many of the local officials of the Nationalist Party were implicated in the Kapp coup d'etat; the national officers of the party took no open position either for or against the Kapp regime until after it had fallen; then they condemned it and insisted that they had had no share in it. Their opponents claim that the whole Kapp affair was engineered by workers of the German Nationalist Party.

The avowal of monarchism by the Nationalists is carefully worded. It calls for "the restoration of the German imperial monarchy (*Kaisertum*) established by the Hohenzollerns." It carefully refrains from calling for the restoration of the ex-Kaiser or even of a Hohenzollern. The party program protests against "rule by Jews" and against the influx of foreigners who profit by the low exchange to exploit the German people. It demands a "moral rebirth of the people by deepening its Christian consciousness," declares that "the purity of the family and the health of the state are dependent upon the vital absorption of Christian religious forces," and in general indorses the alliance of church and state. It demands government by experts rather than government by politicians, and advocates the formation of a second chamber in parliament in which the various professions and industrial groups shall be represented as such. Like the Communists, it proclaims the bankruptcy of democracy.

Throughout the campaign the two Right parties have given vent to the most virulent expressions of anti-Semitism. A Berlin branch of the German National Party issued the following statement:

> The Jews must get out of Germany. The property of the Jews must be seized. Jews should be kept out of German high schools and colleges. They should be deprived of electoral rights. Jewish banks and warehouses should be seized. Jews should be put out of the stock exchange. The guilds should be reestablished. Physical labor should be introduced for Jews. Germans should be forbidden to work for Jews and punished if they do so.

Karl Helfferich, the former director of the Deutsche Bank and wartime Finance Minister, and Count Posadowsky are the most conspicuous leaders of the Nationalist Party. Stresemann, the former National Liberal leader, and Count von Westarp, the former conservative leader, are active in the German People's Party. The latter party had an almost equally compromising position during the Kapp affair, and is only second to the Nationalists in its violent anti-Semitism. It has recently received reinforcements from the right wing of the Democratic and Centrum parties. Its position is today virtually that of the Nationalist Party at the January, 1919 elections. Both parties make vitriolic attacks upon the present regime. Their opponents claim that they favor a military dictatorship. The recent purchase of sixty-four newspapers by a syndicate headed by the *Schwerindustrielle*, Herr Stinnes, has probably aided the campaign of these parties.

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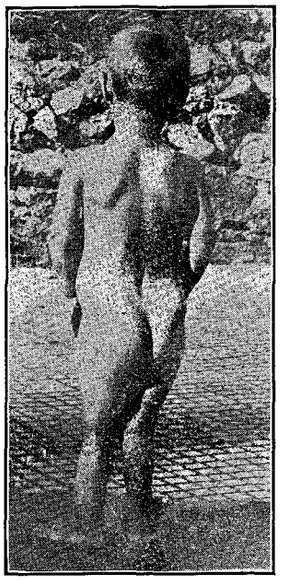

The following official figures, recently received from Vienna, speak for themselves:—

Of 183,500 children examined—

96,000 were very much undernourished
63,000 were undernourished
19,000 were less undernourished
5,500 were not undernourished

The mortality figures present themselves as follows:—

	Vienna	(N.Y.)
Under 5 years per 1,000.....	270	(33.95)
" 10 " " "	60	(3.32)
" 15 " " "	40	(2.10)

"Some Home would in many cases save their lives," reads a sentence in the official letter we received from Vienna a couple of months ago, and it was this message which called the "American Convalescent Home for Vienna's Children" into existence.

The "Home" is now open and accommodates 700 children; shortly their number will be increased to 1,000. The average period of convalescence is one month.

Thousands need our "Home," but the "Home" must be maintained by voluntary contributions. It costs approximately 50c a day ($3.50 a week or $15 a month) to keep one child at the "Home." How many will YOU keep?

Do, please, do help! Misery such as the world has never witnessed before is appealing to you; you cannot refuse!

Please Make Use of this blank TODAY

AMERICAN CONVALESCENT HOME FOR VIENNA'S CHILDREN, Date.....
Ernest Wolkwitz, Vice-Pres. Yorkville Bank, Treasurer,
225 Fifth Ave. (room 1106), N. Y. C.

GENTLEMEN: Enclosed please find $....., being my contribution towards the maintenance of the "Home."

Very truly yours,

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State.....

A number of pictures as well as the first report and an audited statement of accounts will be mailed upon request.

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